STUDIES IN INDOLOGY

Vol. I

By

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IN MEMORIAM

My Erudite Friend

Dr. ANANT SADASHIV ALTEKAR

M.A., LL.B., D LITT.

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FOREWORD

By

Dr Sir M Bhawani Shankar Niyogi,
M A, LL M, ~~D Litt~~ LL D, Kt

President, Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal

It is with great pleasure and satisfaction that I write this Foreword, associated as I have been with the Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal since its inception under the active lead taken by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr V V Mirashi During the quarter of a century that the Mandal has been in existence it has turned out a mass of research literature the value of which has been immesurably increased by the luminous contributions made by Dr Mirashi To congratulate him would be but congratulating the Mandal itself

Dr Mirashi needs no introduction, as he has by his own merits won for himself an abiding place among the galaxy of scholars even outside the borders of India in the field of historical research, and has been the recipient of the highest academic honours from three Universities in India He was also elected President of the All India Oriental Conference held last year The output of his learned labours is evidenced by the articles included in this Volume and the list appended to it They can be classified under three heads (1) Discovery of fresh material, (2) critical study and investigation of the available material, and (3) the interpretation of both for the ascertainment of the truth

I have no wish to take upon myself the task of pronouncing judgment upon the conclusions reached by Dr Mirashi, since in this world of perpetual flux nothing can be final and ultimate Even so I cannot resist the temptation of saying that his conclusions are such that they can well stand the scrutiny of future scholars

Dr Mirashi is now the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Nagpur University, in the

development of which I feel keenly interested With due apologies I take this opportunity to state what follows for the edification of the students in the Department with the hope that it will stimulate their interest in historical research to be pursued as a discipline in the course of their academic career

Let me start with the question—'How are Dr Mirashi s conclusions to be tested for their verity ? Take, for instance, his view that the poet Kalidāsa derived inspiration to compose the *Meghad ta* from his visit to Rāmagiri (modern Ramṭek), situated not very far from the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana, during his sojourn in Vidarbha If history were an experimental science like Chemistry, one could verify his conclusion by an experiment, but the fact of Kalidāsa s stay at Nandivardhana was a unique event which can scarcely be reproduced in a laboratory Nevertheless there must be some method of testing such conclusions and that is the Scientific method of enquiry The word 'history, in its original and etymological sense means 'enquiry, 'learning by enquiry or knowledge gained by process of enquiry In Sanskrit the word *Itihasa* was apparently intended to convey the same meaning *Iti* denotes a conclus on preceded by enquiry *Itihasa* is therefore different from *Aitihya* which denotes a mere legend The underlying idea is the persistent pursuit of truth diligent search for relevant facts, and a critical judgment from which all presumptions, presuppositions prejudices and predilections are eliminated History can thus be described as a Science of Criticism in the sense in which Prof T H Huxley said By Science I understand all knowledge that rests upon evidence or reasoning or as the American Professor F J Teggart defines Science as merely the systematic investigation of the process manifested in phenomena' Hence in historical research what is pertinent is not primarily the conclusion but the method of enquiry

In India it is doubtful whether such a rigorous test had ever been applied in ancient times in spite of the etymological connotation of the word *Itihasa* as indicated above The *Mahabharata* is designated as an *Itihasa* but it may be true not strictly

in the sense of history but in that of historiography, *i e*, the art of literary composition It contains a great deal of legendary and fictitious matter. Its purpose was mainly didactic and pragmatical *viz*, to preach righteousness, to vindicate the apparently capricious ways of the Providence, and to illustrate the operation of the 'Law of Karma' The poet figures very prominently in these times as can be gathered from the following verse in the *Rājataraṅginī* :—

कोऽन्यः कालमतिक्रान्तं नेतुं प्रत्यक्षतां क्षमः ।
कविप्रजापतीस्त्यक्त्वा रम्यनिर्माणशालिनः ॥

"Who is there save the Creator (Prajāpati) or the Poets (Kavis) that is capable of recreating the by gone past and depicting it in a fascinating manner ?"

India, however, does not stand alone, as in this respect there is the Mediaeval Europe to vie with her. It is well known that in the hands of the priests and monks of the Middle Ages History had become the handmaid of Theology, encumbered as it had been with a plenitude of marvels and miracles Who would not justify in these days Sir Robert Walpole's caustic remark, 'History is not worth studying, for we know that it is false'? That remark was symptomatic of the spirit engendered by the Renaissance.

The Renaissance marked the transition from the mediaeval to the modern age and a return to the spirit of the ancient Classical times, for which the credit may well go to the Arabic Culture The works of Hecateus, Herodotus, Thucydides Tacitus and Livy, which are mostly free from the marvels and miracles (so characteristic of ecclesiastical history), in spite of their attraction for the abnormal, the dramatic and the heroic That Hecateus had a Scientific mind is clear from his following statement "What I write here is the story which I believe to be the true one, for the legends of the Greeks are many and, in my opinion, absurd '

It was at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Western world instituted the Scientific School of historians

imbued with the new critical spirit which the study of Nature had engendered Under the impulse of that spirit there sprang up eminent historians like Niebuhr, Ranke and Mommsen in in Germany, Benjamin Guirard and Leopold Delisle in France, and Hallam Palgrave, Kemble, Stubbs and Gardiner in England, and they set a fine example for their posterity to follow

In line with this lofty tradition, Elphinstone, Medows Taylor and Cunningham, to mention only a few names, fashioned their historical narratives and opened the way for Scientific study in India Under the inspiration of such indigenous scholars as Rajendralal Mitra, R. G Bhandarkar and V K Rajwade and others it has now become firmly established in India

It is my firm belief that the work produced by Dr Mirashi is sound enough to conform to the strict norms of Scientific tradition Here is the torch held aloft to illumine the path of younger aspirants to be followed and to be transmitted undimmed and without flicker to the generations that are yet to come

PREFACE

While reviewing the *Samśodhana muktāvali*, Part I (a Collection of my research articles in Marathi), my esteemed friend Dr P K Gode first suggested that the Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal, which had published that Volume, should bring out a complete collection of my research articles in English Subsequently, the Mandal published two more collections of my research articles in Marathi under the name *Samśodhana muktavali*, Parts II and III The enthusiastic reception and the appreciative reviews which all the three Marathi volumes received have emboldened the Mandal to publish this first Volume of my Studies in Indology

The articles collected in this Volume fall into three sections The first section contains six articles dealing with various controversial problems about the great Sanskrit poets Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Rajasekhara Tradition says that Kālidāsa was sent by his patron Vikramaditya as an ambassador to the court of a king of Kuntala Scholars were not agreed about the identification of this king Here it is shown that this prince belonged to the Early Rashtrakūta dynasty and flourished in the fourth century A D The next article shows that Ramagiri mentioned in Kālidasa s *Meghadūta* is identical with Ramtek, about 28 miles north of Nagpur The following three articles (Nos 3-5) deal with various problems connected with Bhavabhūti The first locates his birth place at Padampur in the Bhandara District of Vidarbha, and the second shows that the temple of Kālapriyanatha at which his plays were staged was dedicated to the Sun and was situated at Kālpi The third article critically examines the identification of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka, supported by several scholars ancient and modern and shows it to be baseless The last article of this section states the chronological order of Rajaśekhara s works

The second section contains five articles dealing with Prakrit poets and their works The first of these locates

Supratishthita, the home of the great Prakrit poet Gunādhya, in Vidarbha The next two articles seek to prove that the original name of the *Gathāsaptaśatī* was *Kosha* and that the anthology has undergone alteration from time to time The next article (No 10) brings to notice for the first time the interesting information that fifty six Prakrit poets formed a *Kavi mandala* and published their poems under their joint name The information about the Prakrit *kāvya Harivijaya* of the Vakataka king Sarvasena, which is collected here for the first time, will, I hope, evoke interest among students of Prakrit literature and will eventually lead to the discovery of that long lost work

The third and last section contains fifteen articles which deal with various problems of ancient Indian history ranging in date from the third century B C to the seventh century A D Readers will find here for the first time an edict, now unfortunately fragmentary, issued by the Dharmamahamatra of Aśoka as also the earliest inscription of the Vākātaka king Rudrasena I, both incised on the same stone It is stated in all histories of the Satavahanas that the dowager queen Naganikā was acting as Regent for her minor son Vedisri Bühler even went to the length of saying that the young prince was saluted in the beginning of the Naneghaṭ Cave inscription It is shown in article No 13 that both these views are based on a wrong interpretation of that record and that far from being a minor, Vedisri was then ruling as the lord of Dakshināpatha and his mother Naganika was, like a hermit, leading a life of self restraint, prayer and fasting The next article (No 14) gives a new interpretation of the date of the Mathura pedestal inscription which had baffled scholars for a long time The era in which the dates of the Magha kings are recorded was, for a long time, a matter of keen controversy, some identifying it with the Kalachuri and others with the Gupta reckoning Article No 15 deals with this problem exhaustively from the point of view of palaeography, language and stratification, and proves that the Magha dates are recorded in the Śaka era founded by Kanishka

1 The next two articles (Nos 16 and 17) attempt to shed some fresh light on the vexed problem of Rāmagupta How the powerful and extensive empire of the Vākāṭakas suddenly crumbled to pieces after the death of Harishena was a perplexing problem Article No 18 seeks to solve it with the help of evidence from the Sanskrit work *Daśukumāracharita* The next article (No 19) brings to light for the first time a new royal family viz, the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura, who ruled contemporaneously with the Vākāṭakas The dates of the Uchchakalpa kings were, by some, referred to the Kalachuri era and, by others, to the Gupta era Article No 22 proves conclusively that the latter is the correct view The following article (No 23) shows, on the strength of fresh inscriptional and literary evidence, that Yaśodharman, the great hero who defeated the Hūṇa king Mihirakula, had his capital at Ujjayini and not at Mandasor as was supposed so far The date of Tivaradeva, on which hinged the dates of three other Southern dynasties viz the Śarabhapurīyas, the Vishnukundins and the Śailodbhavas, is next determined on the evidence of inscriptions and literature The remaining articles also shed similar important light on some other problems of ancient Indian history

These articles were published in research journals and Commemoration Volumes from time to time during the last three decades Though they were often referred to in works and research articles on ancient Indian history, they were not easily accessible to students They are therefore reprinted here in response to the suggestions from several scholars I am grateful to the Editors of the several Journals who kindly allowed their republication I must specially mention here the kind permission granted by the Director General of Archaeology to reproduce Articles Nos 14, 15 and 22 which had appeared previously in the *Epigraphia Indica*

I have dedicated this Volume to the revered memory of Dr A S Altekar, Director of the Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, whose friendship I was happy to enjoy for a number of years Indian scholarship has sustained an irreparable loss by

his sudden and untimely death, which took place only three months ago

I am grateful to the Government of Bombay, which has financed the publication of this work, to the Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal, which accepted it for publication, and to Dr Sir M Bhavani Shankar Niyogi, President of the Mandal, who has blessed it with his Foreword Lastly, I thank the Manager of the Tara Printing Works, for his uniform courtesy while this work was going through the press

15th February 1960 V V MIRASHI

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ERRATA

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
81	3	Hala	Hāla
114 f. n. 1	1	*Baṁbhana-*	*Baṁdhana-*
117	22	[*l**]	[1*]
189	8	Collin's	Collins'
207	11	Guari	Gauri
219	12	Uchchakalpa	Parivrājaka
230	9	A.D. 535-555	A.D. 550-565
234, f. n. 2	4	A.D. 560-575	A.D. 550-565

Section I

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

THE KUNTALEŚVARADAUTYA OF KĀLIDĀSA

The following seven works of the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa are well known viz the four *kāvyas* *Ṛtusamhāra*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghadūta* and *Raghuvamśa* and the three *nāṭakas* *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Śākuntala* Besides, the Prakrit *kāvya* *Setubandha* or *Rāvaṇavaho*, which is ascribed to Pravarasena, is, according to tradition,[1] said to have been composed by Kālidāsa by the order of King Vikramāditya This tradition can be satisfactorily accounted for if we identify the author of this work with Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, for the latter was the daughter s son of the famous Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II Vikramaditya That the Guptas exercised considerable influence at the Vākaṭaka court in that age is evident from the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā[2] It would not, therefore be wrong to suppose that Chandragupta II had sent some experienced officers of his court to help the dowager Vakātaka queen in governing her kingdom on behalf of her minor son Divakarasena Kalidasa was probably one of them During his stay at the Vakataka capital Nandivardhana he appears to have visited Ramagiri (modern Ramtek), situated only three miles away where the idea of composing the *Meghad ta* suggested itself to his mind While in Vidarbha Kalidāsa may have himself composed the *Setubandha* or at least helped Pravarasena II to compose it This is evidently recorded in the aforementioned tradition recorded by a commentator of that work

Besides the works mentioned above Kalidasa seems to have composed the *Kuntalesvaradautya* This work is not now extant, but we can glean some information about it from stray references in Sanskrit works as well as from inscribed records of the age

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1 Cf इह तावन्महाराजप्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराजविक्रमादित्येनाज्ञप्तो निखिलकविचक्रचूडामणि कालिदासमहाशयः सेतुबन्धप्रबन्धं चिकीर्षु मङ्गलमाचरन्नाह। Rāmadāsa s com on *Setubandha* 1 I

2 *Ep Ind* XV, pp 41 f

The *Kuntaleśvaradautya* is clearly mentioned as a work of Kālidāsa in the *Auchityavichāracharchā* of Kshemendra, the well known Sanskrit poet of Kashmir Kshemendra has shown with apt illustrations how *auchitya* (propriety) occupies an important place in poetry It is of several kinds As an instance of *adhikaranauchitya* (propriety of place) Kshemendra has cited the following verse from the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* of Kālidāsa[1] —

इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्ष्माधराणा-
मिह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सप्त चान्ये ।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तम्भविभ्राजमानं
धरणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

While pointing out the propriety of place (*adhikarana*) in this verse, Kshemendra says as follows[2] —When the ambassador of a *Mahārāja* went to the court of a *Sāmanta*, he was not offered a venerable seat in keeping with the position of his lord. Still in view of the importance of his work he sat on the ground and (when other courtiers jeered at him) he said boldly—'This surface of the earth is a seat rendered immovable by the pillars in the form of the hoods of (the serpent) Śesha It is a seat worthy of persons like us, for Meru, the best of mountains, as also the seven great oceans are seated on this very seat and I am in no way inferior to them' The ambassador wanted to convey that the ground where he was sitting was not an ordinary seat but was the most appropriate one for an Emperor's representative like himself

Kshemendra gives us no information about the identity of the ambassador or of the feudatory prince to whose court he was sent. Let us therefore see what other Sanskrit works have to say on the point

The following verse occurs in the *Kāryamīmāṃsā*[3] of

1 See अधिकरणौचित्यं यथा कुन्तेश्वरदौत्ये कालिदासस्य—इह निवसति॰ (Kāvyamālā, I, 133) कुन्तेश्वरदौत्ये is evidently a mistake for कुन्तलेश्वरदौत्ये

2 See अत्र महाराजदूतोऽपि सामन्तास्थाने स्वप्रभुसमुचितगौरवयुक्तमासनमनासाद्य कार्यवशेन भूम्यामेवोपविष्टः प्रागल्भ्यगाम्भीर्येणैव ब्रूते यदस्मद्विधाना सकुलाचला एव भुजगपतिभोगस्तम्भस्थामनिष्कम्पे धरासने स्थानं युक्तं यस्मान्निवसन्ति मेरुप्रमुखा सप्त सागराश्च समुपविष्टाः सकलभुवनस्य । तत्र स्य तस्मादस्मिन्नौचित्यमधिकरणपदस्थमेव ॥

3 *Kāryamīmāṃsā* (G O S 1916) pp 60 61

Rājaśekhara as well as in the works *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*[1] and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[2] of Bhoja :—

असकलहसितत्वात्क्षालितानीव कान्त्या
मुकुलितनयनत्वाद्व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

[Tr.—Leaving the responsibility (of governing his kingdom) to you, the lord of Kuntala is engaged in kissing the faces of his beloveds, fragrant with wine, which have, as it were, been cleansed with lustre and the lotuses on whose ears can be seen as their eyes are half closed.]

In the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Bhoja tells us that **this was said by Kālidāsa in reply to Vikramāditya's question,** 'What is the lord of Kuntala engaged in[3]?' In view of its meaning, this verse also appears to have been cited from the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*. The ambassador sent by Vikramaditya to the lord of Kuntala was, therefore, plainly Kalidasa himself. On hearing the above report about the lord of Kuntala, Vikramaditya is said to have given the following reply, making slight changes in the verse of Kālidāsa[4]—

पिबतु मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
मयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

[Tr.—The lord of Kuntala may continue to kiss the faces of his beloveds, leaving the responsibility (of governing his kingdom) to me.] This reply of Vikramāditya is given by both Rājaśekhara and Bhoja in their works.

These two verses clearly show that Vikramaditya sent Kālidāsa as his ambassador to the court of the lord of Kuntala

1 See *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Prakāśas XXII XXIV, Introd. by Śrī Yadugiri-Yatirāja.

2 *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (N S P, 1925), p 168. Bhoja reads व्यालकर्णोत्पलानि and पिबतु। He takes the verse as containing a question.

3. Cf तद्यथा कालिदास किं कुन्तलेश्वरः करोति इति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्ट उक्तवान्। असकलहसितत्वात्—

4 See *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p 61, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, p. 168.

He was not at first well received there, but he stayed there for some days and after having observed the situation in Kuntala, reported to his lord Vikramāditya that the king of Kuntala was engrossed in the enjoyment of pleasures leaving the administration of the government to him (Vikramaditya) The latter said in reply that the king of Kuntala may continue to lead that sort of life, as he was there to protect his kingdom

As the *Kuntalesvaradautya* is not extant now, we cannot get more information about it, but from the passages cited above it appears to have been a historical Sanskrit play and probably contained references to some incidents in the life of Kalidāsa Some historical plays of this type have come down to us A notable instance of this is the *Mudrārakshasa* of Viśākhadatta This very author wrote another historical play named *Devichandragupta* which judging from the extracts now available contained references to some historical events of the Gupta age which are also known from some rhetorical works and inscriptions The *Kuntalesvaradautya* was plainly a work of this type It has since been lost but we can glean some information about it from other sources

Let us next proceed to identify the Vikramaditya and Kuntaleśvara (king of Kuntala) mentioned in the *Kuntalesvara dautya* The tradition that Kalidasa was patronised by a Vikramaditya is now accepted by all scholars, but they are not agreed about his identity There are two main views on this point Some scholars say that he was the founder of the Vikrama samvat and flourished in the first century B C while others hold the view that he was identical with the famous Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II–Vikramaditya The first of these views is not likely to render us any help in solving the present question for we have very little information about the age of that Vikramaditya In fact we have no definite evidence of his existence in the first century B C The second view however may be of some help in this respect for we now possess considerable information about the political condition in the age of the Guptas Let us therefore proceed

to consider whether Chandragupta II Vikramaditya had any dealings with the contemporary lord of Kuntala

Till now two views have been expressed on this question Rev Heras identified this Kuntalesa with the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman [1] The Kadambas were ruling over the Kuntala country which included Southern Maharashtra and the northern Kanarese districts of the Mysore State Their capital was Vaijayanti modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District Besides in the Talgunda inscription the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman is said to have made the royal family of the Guptas glorious by giving his daughters in marriage to them [2] From this Rev Heras inferred that Chandragupta II accepted for his son the daughter of this Kadamba king and that Kālidasa was sent on the mission of bringing about this matrimonial alliance This view however does not appear to be correct for this Kakusthavarman flourished about A D 450 [3] i e about fifty years after Chandragupta II Besides there is no evidence that his kingdom was being governed with the help of Chandragupta II

The second view is that of Prof S Krishnasvami Aiyangar He identified the lord of Kuntala with Pravarasena II of the Vakataka dynasty [4] The Gupta and Vakataka families were allied matrimonially in the time of Chandragupta II for Chandragupta II married his daughter Prabhavatigupta to the Vākataka prince Rudrasena II This prince died soon after his marriage and Prabhāvati began to reign as Regent on behalf of her minor son Divakarasena Chandragupta appears to have sent some experienced generals and statesmen of his court to Vidarbha to help his daughter in the administration of her kingdom Gupta influence at the court of the

1 *J B O R S* Vol XII Part IV

2 Cf गुप्तादिपार्थिवकुलाम्बुरुहस्थलानि स्नेहादरप्रणयसम्भ्रमकेसराणि ।
श्रीमन्त्यनेकनृपषट्पदसेवितानि योऽबोधयद्दुहितृदीधितिभिर्नृपार्कः ।
Ep Ind Vol VIII p 33

3 *H O I P* Vol III p 2 2

4 S K Aiyangar *Ancient India* etc Vol I pp 271 74

Vākāṭakas in that age is reflected in the Poona copper-plate grant of Prabhāvatiguptā,[1] which, unlike other Vākāṭaka grants, opens with the genealogy of the Guptas, not of the Vākāṭakas. At this time Kālidāsa also must have visited Vidarbha. During his sojourn at the Vākāṭaka capital, Kālidāsa seems to have composed the *Meghaduta* and helped Pravarasena II in writing the *Setubandha*. As Kālidāsa had thus come into contact with the Vākāṭakas, Prof Aiyangar thought that the lord of Kuntala mentioned in the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* was the Vākāṭaka prince Pravarasena II. This view was, however, open to the objection that the country of Kuntala was never included in the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas and so Pravarasena II could not have been called *Kuntaleśa*. Prof Aiyangar, however, disposed of this objection as follows. In an inscription at Ajanta, Pṛthivīshena I, the grandfather of this Pravarsena II, is stated to have defeated the king of Kuntala.[2] Since then the Vākāṭakas appear to have assumed the title of *Kuntaleśa* (Lord of Kuntala). This conjecture receives corroboration from the *Bharatacharita* of the poet Śrikṛishna. While praising earlier poets Śṛikṛishna refers to the author of the *Setubandha* as *Kuntaleśa*.[3] For all these reasons Prof Aiyangar advocated the view that the Vakaṭaka Pravarasena II was the *Kuntaleśvara* mentioned in Kalidasa's *Kuntaleśvaradautya*. This view is, however, open to several other objections. As the Guptas and the Vakatakas were matrimonially allied, it is very unlikely that Kalidasa, the ambassador of Chandragupta II, was treated with disrespect on his first visit to the Vakataka capital. Again, though it is true that the Vakatakas defeated a king of Kuntala, there is no evidence to show that they ever assumed the title of *Kuntaleśa*. On the other hand, even in the last known Vakaṭaka grant, viz, the Balaghat plates of Prithivi

1 *Ep Ind* Vol XV p 41 f

2 The revised edition of this inscription shows that it was Vindhya sena of the Vatsagulma branch not Pṛithivishena of the Nandivardhana branch, who defeated a Kuntala king. Mirashi *Vakataka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta* (H A S No XIV p 4)

3 Cf जलाशयस्यान्तरगाधमार्गमलब्धरन्ध्रं गिरिचौर्यवृत्त्या । लोकेष्वलं कान्तमपूर्वसेतुं बबन्ध कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेशः ॥ *Bharatacharita* I, 4

shepa II,[1] the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena is stated to have married a Kuntala princess, which shows that the Vākāṭakas were different from the kings of Kuntala. The date of the poet Śrīkṛishṇa is not definitely known, but he appears to be a very late author. *His statement cannot therefore be taken as reliable* in regard to this controversial matter.

New light is shed on this question by the recent researches of the present writer. From some copper-plate grants discovered recently at Kolhapur, Dhond and some other places it appears that a Rāshṭrakoṭa family was ruling over Southern Maharashtra from the fourth century A. D.[2] The progenitor of this family was Mānāṅka, who ruled from Mānapura, which he seems to have founded and named after himself. In a copper-plate grant discovered near Kolhapur, Mānāṅka is described as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country.[3] This country comprised the valley of the Krishṇā as suggested in a beautiful verse descriptive of the Chālukya king Jayasiṁha alias Mallikāmoda.[4] The places mentioned in the aforementioned Kolhapur plates can be identified in the Satara district. These early Rāshṭrakūṭas were, therefore ruling over Kolhapur, Satara and Sholapur districts. Their capital Mānapura is probably identical with the town Māṇ, the headquarters of the Māṇ *tahsil* in the Sātara District.[5]

On palaeographic and other evidence it can be shown that

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1. *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 271.

2. See 'The Rāshtrakutas of Mānapura', below.

3. Cf. सविदर्भाश्मकविजेता मानाङ्कनृपति श्रीमत्कुन्तलानां प्रशासिता "। In line 1 of the Kolhapur plates See No 24, below

4 विरयातकृष्णवर्णे तैलस्नेहोपलब्धसरलत्वे ।
कुन्तलविषये नितरां विराजते मल्लिकामोदः ॥

Ep. Ind, Vol. XII, p. 153 This verse has a double meaning:—(1) The fragrance of the *mallikā* flowers in the locks (of a lady), well known for their black colour and straight (i e. uncurling) on account of the unctuousness of oil (applied to them), is extremely attractive; and (ii) in the country of the Kuntala, which has the famous (river) Krishṇavarṇā (i. e the Krishṇa) and the residents of which have become straightforward on account of their loyalty to (king) Tailapa, there shines exceedingly (the king) Mallikāmoda *Mallikāmoda* was a *biruda* of the Later Chālukya king Jayasiṁha II, grandson of Taila II.

5. See 'The Rāshṭrakūtas of Manapura', below

this family was ruling over Southern Maharashtra from the fourth century A D The Vākāṭakas ruled north of the Godāvarī. In the fourth century A D the Vākāṭaka family was divided into two branches[1] The elder branch, which had its capital at Nandivardhana, near Nagpur, ruled over North Vidarbha comprising the modern districts of Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara, Chhindwada, *Betul, Balaghat* etc *The younger branch* ruled from Vatsagulma (modern Basim) over South Vidarbha extending to the Godāvarī The kingdoms of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha were thus contiguous to each other It is not therefore surprising that there were frequent clashes between them In an inscription in cave No XVI at Ajanta, Vindhyasena of the Vatsagulma branch is stated to have defeated a king of Kuntala On the other hand, the *Kolhapur plates describe the* Rāshṭrakūṭa king Mānānka as the vanquisher of Vidarbha and Aśmaka[2] Aśmaka comprised the territory south of the Godāvari, Vidarbha evidently refers to the kingdom of the Vatsagulma branch of the *Vākāṭakas* The Vākāṭakas and the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas were thus contemporaries of each other

It seems that Chandragupta II extended his protection to the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura as he did to the Vākāṭakas of Nandivardhana Perhaps *he had allied himself matrimonially* with them It was his policy to form matrimonial alliances with rulers of South India Devarāja of the Rashtrakūta family was a contemporary of Chandragupta *II* In some *Rāshṭrakūṭa grants* he is compared with Indra, the lord of gods[3] Perhaps he was as lascivious as Indra It was probably to the court of this king that Kalidāsa was sent as an ambassador Kalidāsa reported to his master that the Kuntala king was spending his days in enjoyment throwing the responsibility of governing the kingdom on his Gupta ally The latter welcomed this position as appears from his reply to Kālidasa

1 The Purāṇas state that there were four branches of the Vākaṭaka family but the records of the other two have not been found

2 See above p 9 n 3

3 *J B B R A S* Vol XVI p 88 f

As both the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha and the Early Rāshtrakūṭas of Kuntala had the support of Chandragupta, they soon became friendly to each other This ultimately resulted in the marriage of the Vākāṭaka prince Narendrasena, the great grandson of Chandragupta II, with the Kuntala princess Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā as recorded in the Balaghat plates [1]

The poet Śrīkrishna, the author of the *Bharatacharita*, no doubt, describes the author of the *Setu* (i e *Setubandha*) as the lord of Kuntala, but he is a very late author His statement cannot be regarded as more reliable than the evidence of contemporary inscriptions Perhaps the work *Setu* composed by the king of Kuntala was different from the Prakrit kāvya *Setubandha* of Pravarasena [2]

The foregoing discussion will have shown that the tradition that Kālidāsa wrote the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* can be satisfactorily explained if he is placed in the Gupta age If this *kāvya* is fortunately discovered hereafter, it will throw most welcome light not only on the political condition of the age but also on the life of Kalidāsa

1 See above p 9 n 1
2. See below, No 10

2 LOCATION OF RĀMAGIRI*

IN his well known lyric, the *Meghadūta* Kalidāsa describes Rāmagiri as the place where a Yaksha exiled from the heavenly city of Alakā fixed his residence and from where he sent a message to his distressed beloved at home The location of this Rāmagiri has long been a matter of controversy It is therefore proposed to discuss it here in the light of the latest researches

The theme of the *Meghadūta* being a product of the poet s fancy, we do not get any help for fixing the location of this place from Sanskrit literature as we do in the case of the places mentioned in his other works We have consequently to rely mainly on the description of Rāmagiri and the way of the Cloud messenger as given in the *Meghadūta* Let us therefore see how the poet has described these in that Kavya

Rāmagiri was regarded as very holy, for while in exile Rāma and Sita had lived there for some time The hill had a pool of water which had been sanctified by Sita s ablutions Its slopes were marked by the venerable foot prints of Rāma It is not therefore surprising that several hermitages clustered round it When clouds came over the hill in the beginning of the rainy season they looked like elephants stooping to butt against a rampart It abounded in shady trees as well as cane-plants called Nichula On this hill the exiled Yaksha noticed a cloud on the first day of Ashadha Its sight made his grief of separation unbearable Realizing that his beloved also might be in a similar plight he thought of sending a message to her by the cloud He therefore eulogised it and honoured it with the offerings of Kuṭaja flowers He then began to describe the way to Alaka On your way to the north said he you will O Cloud ! first have to ascend the table-land (Mala) where fields are rendered fragrant by the operation of the plough You will then turn a little to the west and again pursue a northerly

* *Nagpur University Journal* No IX pp 3—15

course The mountain Āmrakuṭa will next give rest to you on its peak Having poured out your showers to extinguish its wild fire, you will be able to fly more swiftly The river Narmadā whose stream is shattered at the rugged foot of the Vindhya, will next meet your eye Thereafter you will visit the Daśarna country Having reached its far famed capital Vidiśā, you will drink the water of the Vetravati There the hillock Nichairgiri, the caves of which rendered fragrant by the perfumes used by courtesans, disclose the licentious youth of the townsmen, will afford you rest and shelter The subsequent way of the cloud messenger not being necessary for the discussion of our subject need not be described here

The foregoing description of the Cloud messenger s way clearly indicates that Ramagiri lay to the south of Vidiśa Now, the location of Vidisa is certain Archæological excavation has proved beyond doubt that it is identical with modern Besnagar, a village near Bhilsā in Madhya Pradesh The river Betwa (ancient Vetravati) flows by the side The hillock Nichair giri now goes by the name of Udayagiri and lies about two miles to the north It has some old caves well known for sculptures and inscriptions of the Gupta age The description in the *Meghad ta* therefore plainly squares with the situation of Besnagar On the way from Ramagiri to Vidiśa there lay in order the Māla country, the hill Āmrakūta and the river Narmada We have now to see the situation of which of the several hills said to represent the ancient Ramagiri answers to the description given in the *Meghad ta*

Let us first consider the identification of the hill proposed by the ancient commentators of the Kavya Vallabhadeva, the oldest of them who flourished in the tenth century A D, says that Ramagiri is Chitrakuta He further adds that it cannot be Ṛishyamuka as Sita did not dwell there [1] Sthiradeva, who flourished in the same period remarks that Ramagiri is a well known hill in the Dandaka forest but gives no further clue to its identification Dakshinavartanātha, who is so garrulous

[1] 'रामगिरिरत्र चित्रकूटः, न तु ऋष्यमूकः, तत्र सीताया वासाभावात्।'

in regard to Diṅnāga and Nichula, is completely silent on this point. Mallinātha the famous commentator of Kalidāsa's works, has merely reiterated the opinion of Vallabhadeva that Ramagiri is Chitrakuta and later commentators have followed suit. The identification of Rāmagiri with Chitrakūta may therefore be said to have been accepted by nearly all Sanskrit commentators.

The reason for this identification is not far to seek. Rāmagiri is nowhere mentioned in the *Ramayana* of Vālmiki. The only hills mentioned in the *Ramayana* where Rama sojourned during his exile are Chitrakūta and Rishyamūka. Of these, Rishyamuka is out of the question, for Rama visited it after the abduction of Sita. The description in the *Meghadūta* that Ramagiri had a pool of water sanctified by Sitā's ablutions plainly indicates that it could not have been Rishyamuka. It is not surprising therefore that Sanskrit commentators identified Ramagiri with Chitrakūṭa, the only other hill mentioned in the *Ramayana*. But the identification is clearly untenable. According to the description in Vālmiki's epic Chitrakuṭa lay only about ten *krosas* from Bharadvaja's hermitage which was situated at the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna. It is generally identified with the hill near Kāmta in the Banda District.[1] Chitrakūṭa and Kalañjara were well known in ancient times as sacred and fortified hills which ambitious kings vied with one another to keep in their occupation.[2] The hill near Kāmta is still well known as a holy place of pilgrimage. It has on it sacred foot prints of Rāma, Sīta and Lakshmana. But its situation clearly shows that it could not have been Kālidāsa's Rāmagiri, for it is to the north of the Narmadā, not to the south as required. The cloud could not have met the Narmadā, Vidiśā and Ujjayinī

1 The *Rāmāyaṇa* states that this Chitrakūṭa lay at a distance of only ten krosas from Bharadvāja's hermitage which was situated at the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā near Allahabad. The hill near Kāmta is however 65 miles from Allahabad. To reconcile this discrepancy Mr Pargiter suggests that Chitrakūṭa was the name of a range of hills stretching from the river Ken to about 20 miles from Allahabad.

2 See *e.g.*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol V, p 194

in its northward journey from Chitrakuta The identification proposed by Sanskrit commentators is therefore clearly untenable

We shall next turn to the opinions of modern scholars In his latest edition of Kalidāsa s *Meghad ta*, Prof K B Pathak, the veteran Orientalist, identifies Rāmagiri with Ramagadh in the Sarguja State in the Central Provinces This hill has the well known ancient caves of Sitabengiā and Jogimāra containing Brāhmi inscriptions of the second or third century A D Some of the caves are dedicated to Rama, Lakshmana and Sita There are a few images also collected together in one place, but they do not appear to be very old On the wall of a cave there appear two foot prints which are popularly supposed to be those of Rama This place is undoubtedly very old but it is not likely to be Ramagiri, for it is not to the south, but to the north east of Amarakanṭak where the Narmada takes its rise If the Yaksha had to send the Cloud messenger from this place to Vidiśa he would have asked it to pursue not a northerly, but a westerly course Besides, the hill is situated in an unfrequented and inaccessible forest tract Mr Asit Haldar has very gra phically described the difficulties which he and his party had to encounter in reaching the place on elephant back [1] Again, there does not seem to be any particular reason why the poet should have chosen this Ramagadh as the place of the exiled Yaksha s residence

The third hill with which Ramagiri is identified is Rāmṭek, which lies 28 miles north of Nagpur This view was first ex pressed as early as 1813 by Prof H H Wilson in the notes to *his editio princeps of the Meghad ta* In proposing this identifica tion Prof Wilson pointed out that the hill was covered with buildings consecrated to Rama and was periodically visited by numerous pilgrims The geographical situation of this hill answers to the description in the *Meghad ta* Just near Ramtek begins the table land of Sātpuda which was evidently the ancient Mala country described in verse 16 of the Kavya This identi fication of Māla is supported by the statement in a stone inscription

1 *Modern Review* for 1913 pp 379 ff

from Ron that Āchugi II, a feudatory of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāni,[1] defeated the lord of Dahala (i e, the contemporary Kalachuri king ruling at Tripuri near Jabalpur) after conquering the Mala country

After ascending the Māla country the Cloud was asked to turn a little to the west and reach the hill of Āmrakūṭa This hill is generally identified with Amarakanṭak, but this view is open to the objection that Amarakantak is situated not north by west, but north by east of Ramtek and does not lie on the way to Vidiśa Besides, the ancient name of Amarakantak was Mekala, not Āmrakuta It is well known that the Narmadā which takes its rise at Amarakantak is called Mekala-sutā, 'the daughter of Mekala' Again, the description in the *Meghaduta* that the *Cloud after crossing some distance from Āmrakuta would see* the Narmada at the foot of the Vindhya mountain, plainly shows that Āmrakūṭa lay at some distance to the south of both the Vindhya and the Narmada The identification of Āmrakuṭa with Amara kantaka is therefore impossible. My friend, Dr D W Kathale of Nagpur, suggests that Āmrakuṭa might be Amarwada, the headquarters of the Amarwada *talsil*, which lies almost due north of Nagpur As it is situated north by west of Ramṭek, the description in verses 16 and 17 of the *Meghaduta* fits it very well, but Amarwada is a town, not a hill (*sāmumān*) as stated in the *Meghaduta* Its ancient name might have been Āmravaṭaka, but it cannot evidently be identical with Āmrakuṭa About 7 or 8 miles north of Amarwada, there is, however, a range of hills which may have borne the name of Āmrakūta in ancient times Rai Bahadur Hiralal has suggested in one of his articles that the peaks of Satpurā had names ending in *kṭa* such as Salakuta, modern Sāleṭekri in the Balaghat District, and Madhukuta, Mohtur in the Chhindwāda District The hill to the north of Amarwādā may similarly have borne the name of Āmrakuta[2]

1. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XIX p 287 Prof Wilson who identified Amrakūṭa with Amarakanṭak thought that Māla was Malda north of Ratanpur in Chhattisgarh *But the identification is plainly impossible as the place does not lie on* the way from Ramtek to Besnagar near Bhilsa

2. As the hill near Amarwada is not exactly to the north of Rāmtek,

The Narmadā which the cloud met somewhere in the Narsingpur District, presents the scene which the poet has graphically described in verse 19 as resembling the ornamental figures on the body of an elephant

The geographical situation of Rāmtek is thus exactly as described in the *Meghaduta* Besides, Rāmtek has, for several centuries, been famous as a holy place The Riddhapur plates of the Vakataka dowager queen Prabhāvatigupta were issued on Kārttika śukla 12 from the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri (*Rāmagiri svāminah padi-mulāt*)[1] This branch of the Vakātaka dynasty was ruling over the northern parts of Berar and the Marathī speaking districts of the old Central Provinces There is no ancient holy place except Ramtek, in this part of the Province, which goes by the name of Ramagiri The Riddhapur plates therefore clearly indicate that the hill was then known by the name of Rāmagiri and that it had on it a temple dedicated to the *pādamulas* or foot prints of Rama Even now, in the temple of Rāmachandra on the hill of Ramtek there are *pādukās* of Rama in regular worship The antiquity of Ramtek may be traced to still earlier times if the mound at the adjoining village of Mansar which looks like the remnant of a Buddhist Stupa is excavated In any case, the hill has maintained its holiness continuously since the age of the Vakatakas, for in a stone inscription[2] in the temple of Lakshmana, which belongs to the thirteenth century A D, the various temples and *tirthas* on the hill and in its vicinity are described That it had become far famed as a holy place in that age is shown by the fact that Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahanubhava sect came all the way from Gujarat and stayed there for ten months In the description of his itinerary in old Mahānubhāva works are men

but slightly north by west the description in the *Meghaduta* (v 16) that the Cloud after ascending the Māla country would have to turn slightly to the west and then to the north in order to reach Amrakuta exactly squares with the situation of the hill near Amarwāla

1 *J A S B*, Vol XXII pp 58 ff

2 *Ep Ind* Vol. XXV, p 9 ff It is noteworthy that this hill is actually called *Ramagiri* in line 45 of this inscription See *ibid* Vol XXV p 17.

tioned the temples of Rama, Lakshmana, Bhogarama and Guptarama, the bathing place of Sita as well as the step wells Sindūra vapi and Karpūra vapi which can still be seen on the hill [1] Near Ramtek there is a small village called Nagardhan or Nandardhan, the ancient Nandivardhana, which was once the capital of the Vakatakas [2] This place is also mentioned in the Deoli plates of the Rāshṭrakuṭa king Krishna III [3] It retained its old name Nandivardhana down to the time of the Bhonslas, for it is referred to in a Sanskrit play called *Purañjanācharita* composed in the 18th century A D [4] Ramṭek and the adjoining places can thus claim high antiquity

Apart from its geographical situation and antiquity, Ramṭek can be identified with Rāmagiri on the strength of the description given in the *Meghaduta* Even now there is a *kunda* near the temple of Rama which is shown as the place of Sita s ablutions That the hill had sacred footprints of Rāma in ancient times has already been shown above It has still numerous shady trees and in the rainy season it abounds in *Kutaja* flowers When the clouds hang over it in the beginning of the rainy season they appear like elephants engaged in a butting sport The hill consists of reddish stones which must have easily furnished the Yaksha with the necessary *dhāturagas* for drawing a picture of his beloved

The tradition that Rama and S tā dwelt on this hill seems to be very old The name of this hill does not, of course occur in the *Rāmāyana* but that is because the Epic does not give a detailed description of all the hermitages where Rāma dwelt during his sojourn for ten years in the Dandakaranya Besides the hill is said to have acquired this name after Rāma began to dwell on it in response to the request of Śambūka The *Rāmāyana* names the hill of Śambūka s penance as Śaivala and the descrip

1 See *L I charitra* Fk ka (edited by H N None) p 4 Nurvardha p 110 Also *Sthāna Poth* (ed by V B Kolte) pp. 4 5

2 It is mentioned as the place of issue in at least three grants of the Vakatakas

3 *Ep Ind* Vol V p 196

4 *Sardesai Commemoration Volume* (Marathi) p 148; *Ep Ind*, Vol XXV pp 17

tion it gives of it suits Rāmṭek. This very name Śaivala is mentioned as the old name of the Rāmṭek hill in the *māhātmya* of Rāmṭek called *Sindūragiri-māhātmya*. The place where the Śūdra ascetic Śambuka was beheaded by Rāma is still shown on the hill. A Śiva-liṅga was installed there and it still exists under the name of Dhūmreśvara.[1]

Let us next consider what led Kālidāsa to choose Rāmagiri as the place of the exiled Yaksha's residence. Several scholars now believe that the great poet flourished at the court of Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya in *circa* A.D. 400. The two royal families of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas became matrimonially connected about that time; for Chandragupta II gave his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage[2] to the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena II in *circa* A.D. 395. The earliest copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭakas so far discovered is that of Prabhāvatīguptā. The charter was issued from Nandivardhana while she was acting as regent for her minor son Divākarasena.[3] Two other charters granted by her second son Pravarasena II, which have recently been discovered in Berar were also issued from Nandivardhana. They are dated in the second and eleventh year of his reign.[4] All subsequent charters of Pravarasena II's reign are, however, issued from Pravarapura which shows that he later on founded the city of Pravarapura and shifted his capital there. As stated before, Nandivardhana is identical with Nandardhan (also called Nagardhan), now a small village near Rāmtek. Owing to its proximity to the Vakaṭaka capital, Rāmtek (ancient Rāmagiri) must have become well known at the time. From the

1. The Śiva linga is mentioned as Dhumrāksha in the stone inscription of the time of the Yādava king Rāmachandra which still exists, though in a mutilated form in the temple of Lakshmaṇa on the Rāmtek hill See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV p 17

2 The marriage seems to have taken place after Chandragupta's extermination of the Western Kshtrapas, which Vincent Smith places in A.D. 395. *J.R.A S* for 1914, p .17.

3. *Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p. 39 ff

4. *Ibid*, Vol XXVI, p 155 ff. and Vol XXIV, p 260 ff.

prominence given to the Gupta genealogy in both the charters[1] of Prabhāvatigupta which have been discovered so far, it has been rightly surmised that Gupta influence was at its highest at the Vakataka court during the time of Chandragupta II Perhaps he had deputed some trusted and experienced officers of his court to assist his daughter in governing her kingdom during the minority of Divakarasena It would not therefore be wrong to suppose that Kalidasa also visited the Vakataka capital during this period and stayed there for some time This conjecture gains support from the tradition recorded by an old Sanskrit commentator that by the order of *Maharajadhiraja* Vikramaditya Kalidasa composed the Prakrit kavya *Setubandha*[2] for the sake of *Maharaja* Pravarasena This Pravarasena is none other than Pravarsena II the daughter's son of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya For the composition of this kavya of fifteen cantos, Kalidasa must have stayed at Nandivardhana for some years. It is easy to surmise that the theme of the *Meghaduta* must have suggested itself to the great poet when he visited Ramtek and that he must have composed that kāvya while in Vidarbha This explains why he made the exiled Yaksha, the hero of that kāvya choose Ramagiri (modern Ramṭek) as the place of his residence

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Ramṭek near Nagpur is the ancient Rāmagiri described as the place of the Yaksha's sojourn in the world famous kāvya *Megha duta* of Kālidāsa To commemorate this the Bombay Government has decided to erect a memorial on the hill It is sure to be in course of time a great attraction to tourists and lovers of Kālidāsa[3]

1 One of these is the Poona grant (*Ep Ind* Vol XV p 39 ff) and the other the Riddhapur grant (*J R A S B* Vol XX 5 ff) In both these grants Prabhavatigupta gives the genealogy of the Guptas from Ghaṭotkacha, the founder of the Gupta family while she refers to the Vakatakas only in connection with her husband Rudrasena II

2 *Setubandha* (Nirnayasagara Press ed., 1934) p 3 See also the colophon of the last canto of that kavya

3 For a detailed description of the temples and *tirthas* at Rāmtek as well as a critical examination of the different identifications of Rāmagiri see my Marathi and Hindi books on the subject published by the Vidarbha Samsodhana Mandala Nagpur

3 THE BIRTHPLACE OF BHAVABHŪTI*

The birth place of the great Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti is still a matter of controversy It is indeed fortunate that we are not left to mere conjecture in this case, for, unlike his great predecessor Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti has given considerable information about himself in the prologues of his plays From the *prastāvanā* of the *Mahāvīracharita*[1] we learn that he came of a family of learned and pious Brahmanas of the Kaśyapa gotra and Taittirīya Śākhā with the surname Udumbara, who lived in the city of Padmapura situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha They maintained the five fires, observed sacred vows, drank Soma juice and expounded Brahman Bhavabhūti was fifth in descent from Mahakavi who had performed the Vajapeya sacrifice His grandfather was Bhattagopala, father Nilakantha and mother Jātūkarṇī Now, Dakṣiṇāpatha is generally taken to mean South India 'The country south of the Narmada is called Dakṣiṇāpatha,' says Yaśodhara, the commentator of Vatsyayana's *Kāmasūtra* Rajaśekhara defines it as the country lying to the south of Mahishmati It is evident, therefore that Bhavabhuti was a Southerner We have an even more definite statement in the prologue of the *Malati Madhava* where the Sutradhāra says, "There is a city named Padmapura in Vidarbha in the Dakṣiṇa patha[2]" These statements should leave no doubt about the location of the ancestral home of the poet But some scholars have questioned their accuracy and interpretation Jagaddhara and Tripurāri, commentators of the *Malati Madhava* identify Padmapura, the author s native place with Padmavati where the

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* *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol XI pp 287 f

[1] अस्ति दक्षिणापथे पद्मपुर नाम नगरम्। तत्र केचित्तैत्तिरीयिण काश्यपाश्चरणगुरव पङ्क्तिपावना पञ्चाग्नयो धृतव्रता सोमपीथिन उदुम्बरनामानो ब्रह्मवादिन प्रतिवसन्ति। तदामुष्यायणस्य तत्रभवतो वाजपेययाजिनो महाकवे पञ्चम सुगृहीतनाम्नो भट्टगोपालस्य पौत्र पवित्रकीर्तेर्नीलकण्ठस्यात्मसभव श्रीकण्ठपदलाञ्छनो भवभूतिर्नाम जातूकर्णीपुत्र । (Oxford University Press Ed pp 2 3)

[2] अस्ति दक्षिणापथे विदर्भेषु पद्मपुर नाम नगरम्। *Malati Madhava*

scene of the drama is laid [1] In the beginning of the drama we find that a minister of Kundinapura, the capital of Vidarbha, sends his son Madhava to Padmavati ostensibly for education, but really for the purpose of getting him married to the daughter of the minister of Padmāvati This shows that Padmavati was not situated in the country of Vidarbha General Cunningham was the first to show that the description of the environs of Padmavati that occurs in the *Malati Madhava*, suits Narvar in Gwalior State "The Sindhu River (mentioned in *Malati Madhava* IX 1) is clearly the Sindh on which Narvar is situated, and the Parvati is the Para, which flows only five miles to the north of the Sindh The subsequent mention of Madhumati and Lavana as streams in the neighbourhood of the city further confirms the identification, as the first must be Mohwar or Madhuwar on the south and the other the Lun or Nun to the north Bhavabhuti further places the holy shrine of Suvarnabindu near the confluence of the Madhumati and Sindhu which may be identified with Sunendu or Sonendu (= Sonabindu) which is close by [2] Since then Mr M B Garde, Superintendent of the Archæological Department, Gwalior State, has, by trial excavations, identified Padmāvati with the modern village Pawaya situated at the confluence of the Sindh and the Parvati about 40 miles south-east of Gwalior [3]

The late Mr M V Lele of Gwalior has tried to prove that Padmavati (modern Pawaya) was the birth place of Bhavabhuti on the following grounds[4] —From the detailed and accurate description of Padmavati that Bhavabhuti gives in the *Malati Mādhava*, Mr Lele infers that it was the birth place of Bhava bhuti The city was not situated in Vidarbha (modern Berar in the Deccan) It should be noted in this connection that the corresponding passage in the prologue of the *Mahaviracarita* omits the word *Vidarbheṣu* and only states that the city was in

1 पद्मनगर पद्मावती ।

2 Cunningham—*Coins of Mediaeval India* p 90

3 *Archaeological Survey Report for* 1915-1916 pp 101 109

4 See his Marathi book *Malati Mādhava Sāra va Vicara* p 6

the Dakshiṇāpatha. Besides, though the word occurs in the printed editions of the *Mālatī-Mādhava* it is absent in the oldest Ms. of that play. Then, there is the authority of Jagaddhara, an old commentator of the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, that Padmapura was identical with Padmāvatī. As for the statement in the *Mahāvīracarita* that Padmapura is in the Dakṣiṇāpatha it should be remembered that it occurs in the speech of the Sūtradhāra. From the prologues of Bhavabhūti's dramas it seems that they were first staged at the fairs of Kālapriyanātha. This god is generally identified with Mahākāla of Ujjayinī.[1] The identification is not, however, correct. It is more likely to refer to a temple of Śiva at modern Kālpī. As Pawāyā (which, according to Mr. Lele's view, represents ancient Padmapura) is to the south of Kālpī, the Sūtradhāra's statement that Padmapura is in the Dakṣiṇāpatha can be easily justified.

These arguments of the late Mr. Lele are not convincing. The poet need not have been born at Padmāvatī to be able to describe it minutely. There was indeed a temple of Kalapriyanātha at Kālpī[2] but it is doubtful if the Sūtradhara speaking at a fair in Kālpī would refer to Padmāvatī, which is less than 100 miles to the south, as situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Besides, as shown above, Dakṣiṇāpatha is generally taken to refer to the country south of the Narmada. Dr. Belvalkar, who has examined this question, is therefore, inclined to believe that Padma

1. Cf Tripurāri's Commentary on the *Malati-Madhava*—नाथस्य महाकालो रूपदस्य शम्भो ।

2. From Rājaśekhara's *Kavyamimamsa* we learn that a place called Kalapriya was to the south of Kanauj. Cf अनियतत्वाद्दिशामनिश्चितो दिग्विभाग इत्येके । तथाहि ···यो गाधिपुरस्य दक्षिण स कालप्रियस्योत्तर । *Kāvyamimamsā* p 94. (Gaekwād's Oriental Series, First Ed) This is corroborated by the following verse in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, which describes Indra III's conquest of Kanauj—

यन्माद्यद्द्विपदन्तघातविषम कालप्रियप्राङ्गणं
तीर्णा यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।
येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं
नाम्नाद्यापि जनै कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥

This verse seems to speak of Indra III's halt at the temple of Kālapriya, his crossing of the Yamunā and devastation of Kanauj as events following in close succession. This description suits Kālpi best. For a detailed examination of this question, see the next article.

pura was situated in Vidarbha, but as he did not notice any place of that name in Berar, he says somewhat cautiously, "Pending the discovery of new data, then, we may *assume* that Bhavabhūti's ancestral home, Padmapura, was in the Berar, and not near the site of Narwar in Gwalior State"[1]

The data necessary for the identification of Padmapura, fortunately, are *now* available A copper plate inscribed on one side, has recently been discovered at Mohalla, the headquarters of the Panābaras Zamindarī in the Durg district of Madhya Pradesh It was intended to be the first of a set of three or four plates recording the grant of a Vakāṭaka king Like almost all other plates of the Vākātakas, it is inscribed in box headed characters It refers only to two kings viz, Pravarasena I, who assumed the imperial title of Samrat and performed several great Vedic sacrifices, and his grandson and successor, who was the daughter's son of Bhavanāga of the royal family of the Bharaśivas The record breaks off just before the mention of the second king's name From some indication, it seems that it has remained unfinished The plate does not thus contain any new information about the Vakatakas, but there is one statement in it which is of great importance It purports to have been issued from Padma pura As there are no words like *Vasakāt*, *Sthānāt*, *Vijayaskandhā vārāt*, etc added to Padmapura, we cannot say that the king who intended to grant the plate was then temporarily encamped at Padmapura Nor is Padmapura known to be a holy place We can, therefore, conclude that Padmapura was the capital of the Vakataka king who intended to issue this plate

It would not be out of place to enter here on a short discussion about the capitals of the Vakaṭakas It seems that they changed their capital from time to time Their earliest capital known from inscriptions is Nandivardhana which is mentioned in the Poona plates[2] of Prabhavatiguptā, the daughter of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, who was married to the Vākataka

1 *Rao's Later History Introduction*, p xxxvii (Harvard Oriental Series)

2 *Ep Ind*, vol XV, p 39

prince, Rudrasen II Her son Pravarasena II shifted the capital to Pravarapura, which he seems to have founded and named after himself Soon after Pravarasena II, Bhavadattavarman, who, from the recently published Pādagadh inscription[1], seems to have ruled in the south-east of M P, perhaps in the state of Bastar, invaded Vidarbha and made Nandivardhana his capital His Riddhapur plates are issued from that city[2] and record the grant of Kadambagirigrama which the editor Mr Y R Gupta has identified with Kalamba in the Yeotmal district of Berar Bhavadattavarman seems, therefore to have made himself master of the western part of the Vākataka kingdom In this emergency the Vākāṭakas very likely shifted their capital to Padmapura Later on Prithivishena II regained his ancestral kingdom[3] evidently with the help of his loyal feudatories and his father in law, the king of Kuntala Only one incomplete inscription of this king has been discovered, viz, the Balāghaṭ plates, which were intended to be issued when he was encamped at Vembara The present unfinished plate may have been intended to be issued by Narendrasena or his son Prithivishena II, as its characters closely resemble those of the inscriptions of Pravarasena II

The discovery of this plate has settled the disputed question about the location of Bhavabhūti s birth place Padmapura and proved incontrovertibly that the poet was born in ancient Vidarbha The Vakataka kings were patrons of Vedic learning

1 *Ibid* Vol XXI p 153

2 *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX p 100

3 द्वि(नि)मग्नवशरयोद्दतुं वाकाटकानाम्परमभागवतमहाराजश्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य वचनात् । *Ibid* Vol IX p 271

4 See the following genealogy of the Vakātakas

Rudrasena II—m —Prabhāvat guptā *(A D 400 405)*

Divākarasena (A D 405 420)

Dāmodarasena—Pravarasena II (A D 420 450)

Narendrasena (A D 450-470)

Prithivishena II (A D 470-490)

(The dates ass gned here are conjectural)

and performed several Vedic sacrifices They must, therefore, have patronised learned Brahmanas As a matter of fact, Pravarasena II is known to have donated several villages to Brahmaṇas for the performance of sacrifices etc Bhavabhuti mentions four ancestors of his, who lived at Padmapura We cannot conclude from this that Mahākavi, the fourth ancestor of Bhavabhuti, who probably lived in the latter half of the sixth century, had himself emigrated to Padmapura[1] from elsewhere for there was, in the latter half of the sixth century A D, no great king ruling at Padmapura, who could have invited the fourth ancestor of the poet to settle in the capital The last known Vakataka king Harishena seems to have ceased to reign about A D 500 The Vakatakas were succeeded in Vidarbha by the Kalachuris The silver coins of Krishnaraja, the great Kalachuri king who flourished about A D 550 575, have been discovered at Dhamori in the Amaravati district of Berar The Kalachuris had, no doubt, a vast empire extending from Rajputana and Malwa in the north to the district of Satara in the south and from Konkan in the west to Vidarbha[2] in the east, but their capital was not at Padmapura in Vidarbha but far away in the north at Mahishmati If, therefore, more than four ancestors of Bhavabhuti lived at Padmapura (as seems probable), they must have received liberal patronage from the Vakaṭakas. It is also likely that the Vakatakas invited these pious and learned Brahmanas to settle down in their capital Padmapura and helped them in the performance of their sacrifices In the beginning of the eighth century A D when Bhavabhūti flourished, there was no great king ruling in Vidarbha The province seems to have been under the rule of petty princes who recognised the suzerainty of the Chalukyas In the absence of royal patronage Bhavabhūti was obliged to seek his fortune in the north and ultimately became attached to the court of Yaśovarman, the mighty king of Kanauj

1 Their surname Udumbara indicates that they originally hailed from a place named Udumbara. This may be Umarakhed in the Yeotmal District

2 Cf Cunningham *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p 8; *Archaeological Survey Report for* 1913-1914 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part II. pp 13 293-6

Let us next try to identify this Padmapura As Vidarbha is generally taken to correspond to modern Berar, several scholars have suggested that it must have been situated somewhere in Berar[1] I closely examined the lists of villages in Berar, published by the former C P Government, but could not find in them even a single place corresponding to Padmapura It must be noted in this connection that ancient Vidarbha was not confined to Berar proper, but extended eastward beyond the Waingaṅgā In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, the Varadā (modern Wardhā) is shown to have divided Vidarbha into two fairly equal parts, which the Śuṅga prince Agnimitra assigned to Yajñasena and Madhavasena, two rival claimants for the throne of Vidarbha Again Nandivardhana, the earliest known Vakataka capital was situated not in modern Berar but near Rāmtek in the Nagpur district The copper plates of Pravarasena II have been found in several districts east of the Wardha, such as Chindwada, Sivanī, Nāgpur, Balaghāt and Bhandārā, and the villages granted therein can also be identified in these districts The river Wardhā, therefore did not *then* form the eastern boundary of ancient Vidarbha, as it does *now* of modern Berar Vidarbha, on the other hand, extended as far as Dakshina Kośala (modern Chattisgadh) in the east Bennākaṭa, mentioned in the recently discovered Tirodi plates of Pravarasena II, which comprised the territory on both the banks of the Wainganga (ancient Bennā), was like Bhojakata (modern Berar) a district of the Vākātaka kingdom I have traced no less than six villages named Padmapur, Padmāpur or Padampur in the Chānda and Bhandārā districts of Vidarbha Now we know that Bhavabhūti's Padmapura was a *nagara* Yaśodhara, a commentator of Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra*, defines *nagara* as a place where the business of 800 villages is

1 Cf Belvalkar *Rama s Later History* (H O S p xxxvii), Todar Mall Bhavabhuti s *Mah v racharitam* (Oxford Press p xxiv) R G Bhandarkar wrote, 'Bhavabhūti s native place appears from the description to have been somewhere near Chandrapura or Chānda in the Nagpur territories in which there are still many families of Marathi Dasastha Brahmins of the Taitt riya Sākhā using Āpastamba as their sūtra and in the country in the south and south east of which are famil es of Tailang Brahmins following the same Veda and sutra' *Malati-Mādhava* (1905) notes, p 8

transacted[1] Ancient Padmapura must, therefore, have been a large city Besides, we have seen above that it was at one time a capital of the Vākāṭakas We can, therefore, suppose that it must have considerable ruins From inquiries I came to know that Padampur near Āmgaon in the Bhandārā district of Vidarbha had some ruins Besides, as I have shown elsewhere, the villages mentioned in the Siwanī plates of Pravarasena II can be identified in the vicinity of Āmgaon The surrounding country was, therefore, undoubtedly under the direct rule of the Vākāṭakas. I, therefore, visited the place and found there, as I expected, interesting ruins of considerable antiquity as described below

This Padampur is now a small village in the Āmgaon Zamindari of the Bhandārā district, about 2½ miles from Āmgaon railway station on the Nagpur Calcutta line of the South East Railway Its area inclusive of fields is 1464 acres and its population, which numbered 920 souls at the census of 1911, dwindled down to 112 in 1921 To the west of the village lies a hill callod *Natha Mahārajrelī ṭekdī* (Nāth Mahārāja's hill) where a fair is annually held on the Śivarātri day in the month of Māgha On the hill we found two stones 1′ 10″ high, each having two images, a god with four hands and a goddess with two hands The god has a Śāla in his raised right as well as left hand, his lower right hand holds a mace and the left a *kalaśa* The goddess, who has an umbrella on her head, carries a *kalaśa* in her raised left hand while her right hand is simply hanging down These deities cannot be definitely identified but the images are evidently of the mediæval age

This hill commands a beautiful view To its east lies the small village of Padampur lost in clusters of trees, with a small tank to its west, while the surrounding region is dotted with huge boulders of fantastic shapes The hill contains a small naturally formed cave, which is provided with a stone door frame We were informed that there was an old image on a huge boulder about 18 ft high at a short distance from the foot of the hill, and

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1 Cf नगरं अष्टशतग्राममध्ये तद्व्यवहारस्थानम् । *Kamasutra* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press ed) p 44

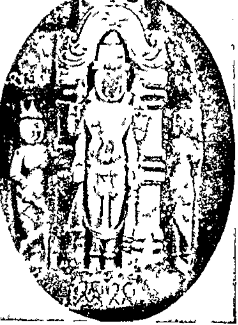

Image of Vishnu at Padmapur

Image of Parsvanatha

Image of Siva from
Padmapur
Nagpur Museum
(By the courtesy of the authorities)

we actually found an old image of Vishnu in perfect preservation reclining against another rock The image is carved under a peculiar arch resting on two old fashioned pillars The god has the conch, the discus, the mace and the lotus in his four hands Outside the pillars, which support the ornamental arch, are carved a male and a female servant, each carrying a fly whisk. The face of the god was smeared with vermilion which we had no time to remove before photographing The image may be assigned to the 11th or 12th century A D

We then proceeded to the neighbouring fields where we found three mutilated images of the Jaina Tirthankara Pārśvanātha One of these is very beautifully carved and polished Its head was broken off, but as we found it lying near by, we put it in its place before photographing The image which is about 2 ft in height is of black stone and represents the Jina Pārśvanātha engaged in meditation and seated cross legged on a lotus with his palms placed one over the other upon the lap On his head appears his *lāñchhana*, a seven hooded serpent whose tail is seen on the lotus in front He has long ear lobes and his hair is treated in schematic curls The Śrivatsa is seen in the middle of his chest Over the snake appears a triple umbralla on either side of which is seen an elephant with his uplifted trunk Flanking the snake's hood on each side there is a garland carrying gandharva and beyond him a miniature Jina sitting cross legged and in meditation like the main figure The Jina has neither garment nor ornament on his person The image belongs, therefore to the Digambara sect We saw one more mutilated image lying in the adjoining field, representing the Jina Risabhadeva or Ādinātha, in the same posture, with his *lāñchhana* the bull carved on the pedestal These images can, with probability, be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A D

Besides these, we saw two collections of massive stones, evidently ruins of fallen temples, near Padampur One of these is about 200 yards to the north of the village The stones have a rough surface and comprise a large lintel measuring 8′ × 1′7″ ×

1'6", with the figure of Ganeśa carved in the centre, bases of door jambs, sections of massive pillars etc The other temple seems to have been situated just outside the present village Some sections of its stone pillars and the stone *prabhāvalī* (i e the supporting slab behind the image) with a pointed top are still standing *in situ* while other sections of pillars are scatterd round about or are buried in debris The pillars are of coarse structure and massive in size The height of the *prabhāvalī* suggested that the image it supported must have been about 5 ft in height An old farmer of Padampur told us that one such image was removed to the Nagpur Museum about forty years ago After our return to Nagpur, we made inquiries in the Museum, but could find no image brought from Padampur It seems that in the early days of the Museum no accurate record of the find spots of images was kept The *provenance* of many is not, therefore, definitely known We saw, however, an exquisitely carved and beautiful image of standing Śiva 4' 10" in height which is said to have been brought from Bhandarā As there are no ruins of mediaeval temples at Bhandāra proper, I doubted the correctness of the statement Besides the height, the breadth and the shape of the stone seemed to agree with those of the *prabhāvalī* at Padampur I, therefore, got actual measurements of the latter from my friend at Āmgaon and found, as I expected, that the image exactly fits the stone *prabhāvalī* It seems certain, therefore that the image of Śiva was brought to the Museum not from Bhandara proper but from Padampur, which is included in the Bhandara district I quote below a description of the image from the *Descriptive List of Exhibits* in the Museum —

'This sculpture is of red sandstone, in good preservation containing a figure of Śiva, four armed, standing under a cinq foliate arch, composed of a snake on each side and the Kirtimukha decoration in the centre He has a plain halo and wears a high headdress, with the figures of the goddess Ganga and the moon in front, one over the other[1] He wears also several

1 The head-dress is of the Jata mukuta type and what is described here as Gaṅgā is really a Kirtimukha jewel

ornaments, including an elaborate torque and girdle and a garland coming down nearly to his ankles The tassel of his girdle is seen in between his legs and touches the bottom of the garland His lower garment is treated in a peculiar way It consists of two flat bands, one below the other, running round his thighs He holds in his upper and lower right hands, a trident (Skt *triśūla*) and a rosary of rudraksha beads respectively In his upper and lower left hands are a cobra with expanded hood and a spouted water vessel (Skt *kalaśa*) In a recess beside his lower right and left hands are figurines one on either side, repesenting Karttikeya seated on the peacock in a *līlasana* posture and Ganeśa in a similar attitude, holding an indefinite object in each hand By the feet of the main figure are two male attendants, one on each side, the one holding a triśūla in his left hand and the other a skull crowned staff in his right, respectively In a niche by the side of either of these figures is a female chauri bearer standing in the conventional attitude The front face of the pedestal is carved with a seated female on the right and a bull on the left side, facing each other"

The image is exquisitely carved Śiva's face is finely modelled and shows graceful serenity On artistic grounds the image may be said to date from the 10th or 11th century A D [1]

The presence of these finely carved images, and the existence of the ruins of massive buildings at Padampur leave no doubt that it must have been once a flourishing city It has also

1 Had it not been for the somewhat late age of this image of Siva, one would have been tempted to identify it with Kalapriyanatha, at whose fairs Bhavabhuti s dramas were staged Rāmachandrabudhendra a commentator of the *Uttararāmacharita*, says indeed, that Kālapriyanatha was worshipped at Padmapura in Vidarbha Cf कालप्रियनाथो नाम विदर्भेषु पद्मनगरे प्रतिष्ठितो देवमूर्तिविशेष । तत्र यात्रायामुत्सवे नाटकमिदं भगवत कालप्रियनाथस्य पुरत प्रथममभिनीतमासीत् । (cited by Prof Kane) It is however doubtful if Bhavabhūti would in that case have given the detailed information about himself and his ancestral home in the prologues of his plays staged at his native place As shown above (p 23 n 2) Kalapriyanātha was to the south of Kanauj where Bhavabhuti and his ancestral home were not well known From the performances of his plays at that place, his fame seems to have reached Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj, who later on patronised him

a grand, natural scenery The hills that encircle the village, with their huge and quaintly shaped boulders, present an attractive appearance The surrounding parts are covered by low rocky jungles infested by panthers and venomous snakes, which take an annual toll of several lives [1] If Bhavabhūti was brought up in such surroundings, it is no wonder that he should love to describe the grand and sublime aspects of nature The description of natural scenery in the Daṇḍaka forest[2] or that of the terrible heat in the dense jungles infested by fierce beasts and huge *ajagaras*[3] that one finds in the *Uttararāmacarita* seems to have been suggested to the poet s mind by his personal observation of the country round Padampur The ancient city which was once a flourishing capital of the Vākāṭakas and which from its images, seems to have retained its importance down to the twelfth century A D, is now reduced to a straggling village. Its ancient site is now converted into fertile fields It is on the boundaries of these fields that the images of the Jaina Tīrthankaras are lying scattered Even now old earthen pots and tiny images of Hindu deities are occasionally turned up by the plough

There is a fine, large tank about a mile and a half to the east of Padampur On three sides its banks are formed by rugged hills while on the fourth there is a dyke of masonry[4] If Padampur was, as I have tried to show, a big city, it is likely to have drawn the necessary supply of drinking water from this tank

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1 Cf *Central Provinces Gazetteer second ed*, p 4

2 Cf स्निग्धश्यामा क्वचिदपरतो भीषणाभोगरूक्षा
स्थाने स्थाने मुखरककुभो झाङ्कृतैर्निर्झराणाम् ।
एते तीर्थाश्रमगिरिसरिद्गर्तकान्तारमिश्रा
सन्दृश्यन्ते परिचितभुवो दण्डकारण्यभागा ॥ उत्तर० २, १४

3 Cf निष्कूजस्तिमिता क्वचित्क्वचिदपि प्रोच्चण्डसत्त्वस्वना
स्वेच्छासुप्तगभीरघोरभुजगश्वासप्रदीप्ताग्नय ।
सीमान प्रदरोदरेषु विलसत्स्वल्पाम्भसो यास्वयं
तृष्यद्भि प्रतिसूर्यकैरजगरस्वेदद्रव पीयते ॥ उत्तर० २, १६

4 *See Gazetteer of the Bhaṇḍāra District*, p 182

One more argument can be advanced to prove that Padampur near Āmgaon was the native place of Bhavabhūti. As we have seen, Bhavabhūti was a Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Black Yajurveda. There were formerly several Brāhmaṇas of this Śākhā in the neighbouring places. The donee of the Siwanī plates of Pravarasena II was a Brāhmaṇa of the same Śākhā.[1] The village Brahmapūraka granted to him is, as I have shown elsewhere, identical with Babmni, about 7 miles to the north-east of Padmapur. There are now no Brāhmaṇa families at Padmapur, but there are many in the neighbouring region and it is noteworthy that they follow the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Black Yajurveda.

It may at first seem strange that the capital of the Vākāṭakas who ruled over Vidarbha should be situated at Padampur near the eastern boundary of their kingdom. But we must note in this connection the political conditions which necessitated the shifting of the capital to Padampur. As shown above, Bhavadattavarman of the Nala family invaded Vidarbha soon after the death of Pravarasena II and occupied Nandivardhana near Nagpur which was, in the previous generation, the Vākāṭaka capital. As the village granted by his Ṛiddhapur plates can be identified in Berar, he seems to have conquered western portion of Vidarbha from the Vākāṭakas. From the Balāghāt plates of Prithivisheṇa II we know that the Vākāṭakas were reduced to great straits at this time.[2] Many of their feudatories seem to have thrown off their suzerainty Only the kings of Kośala (Chattisgadh), Mekala (the country near the source of the Narmadā) and Mālava remained loyal to Narendrasena[3] It is no wonder, then, that he shifted his capital to Padampur near the territories of his eastern feudatories, the princes of Kośala and Mekala, on whom he could rely for help

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1 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 246.

2 See above, p. 25, n. 3.

3. कोशलामेकलामालवाधिपतिभिरभ्यर्च्चितशासनस्य प्रतापप्रणतारिशासनस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीनरेन्द्रसेनस्य........ (*Ep. Ind*, vol IX, p. 271).

Kālapriyanātha[1]. According to a commentator, even in the case of the latter name, the original form was Kālapriyānātha,[2] which was later changed into Kālapriyanātha according to Pāṇini's *sutra* ङ्यापो संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् । (VI, 3, 63) He further explains the name as the *nātha* (husband) of Kalapriyā (Ambikā) i e Śiva This explanation involves the rhetorical fault *viruddhamatikrit*[3] Be that as it may, commentators afford no help in fixing the location of the temple of this Kālapriyanatha Some of them have given evasive explanations such as 'Kālapriyanātha was a local deity' or 'there was a deity named Kālapriya, for a legend about whom, see the Puranas' Rāmachandra budhendra, a commentator of the *Uttararāmacharita,* however, says that the temple of Kalapriyanatha was situated in Padmanagara in Vidaibha and that the play was first staged on the occasion of its festival[4] This view does not, however, appear to be correct. Bhavabhūti was himself a native of Padmapura in Vidarbha His ancestors also had lived there for five generations If his plays had been first staged at Padmapura, there would have been no necessity to give a detailed account about himself, his learning as well as his ancestors such as he has done in his first two plays Again, there is no evidence that there was such a temple in Vidarbha in the age of Bhavabhuti It would seem, therefore, that the temple of Kalapriyanatha where Bhavabhūti's plays were first staged was situated far away from his native place As the poet was not well known there, he found it necessary to give, in the *prastavanās* of his plays, detailed information about himself and his ancestors

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1 See, e g, the *Uttararamacharita* ed. by Prof Kane p 4, n 1

2 See 'कालप्रियनाथस्य' इति ह्रस्वान्तप्रियशब्दयुक्त पाठ प्रचुरो दृश्यते । तन्नात्पर्यं. पूर्ववत् । क्षेत्रविशेषस्येश्वरमूर्तिविशेषसज्ञाभूते कालप्रियानाथशब्दे 'ङ्यापो संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम्' इति वैकल्पिकह्रस्वप्रवृत्ते । Virarāghava's com. on the *Mahaviracharita* (N S P, 1910), p 6

3 Cf Mammata's remarks on भवानीपते in the *Kavyaprakasa* Ullāsa VII

4 See कालप्रियनाथो नाम विदर्भेषु पद्मनगरे प्रतिष्ठितो देवमूर्तिविशेष । तस्य यात्रायामुत्सवे नाटकमिद कालप्रियनाथस्य पुरत प्रथममभिनीतमासीत् । cited by Prof Kane in his ed of the *Uttararamacharita*, Notes, p 3

Modern annotators of the plays of Bhavabhūti identify Kalapriyanātha with the god Mahākāla of Ujjayini[1] The temple of Mahakala has, indeed, been far famed from very ancient times The *linga* there is counted among the twelve famous *jyotirlingas* of India Mahakala has been described by earlier poets like Kalidāsa Bhavabhuti is generally believed to have been a devout worshipper of Śiva It would not, therefore, be surprising if his plays were staged on the occasion of a fair of Mahakala The identification of Kalapriyanatha with Mahākala has, therefore, found general acceptance

This view does not however, appear to be correct The god Mahakāla has no doubt, been described or mentioned in several Sanskrit works such as the Puranas, but nowhere is he called Kalapriyanātha Besides, Bhavabhuti does not appear to have been a devout worshipper of Śiva otherwise, he would have praised that god in the beginning of all his plays as Kalidasa has done We find however, that Bhavabhūti has inserted a *maṅgala sloka* in praise of Śiva only in one of his plays viz in the *Malatimadhava* where it follows a humorous description of Vinayaka (Ganeśa) In the Nandī of the *Mahaviracharita* he has paid obeisance to self-existent eternal consciousness, *i e*, to Brahman while in that of the *Uttararamacharita* he has paid his respects to bygone poets As he has stated in the *prastavana* of the *Malatimadhava* he had studied the Vedas the Upanishads as well as the Sankhya and Yoga systems of philosophy[2] He therefore held very liberal views in regard to religious matters He was convinced that there was only one eternal principle, viz, Brahman, underlying all gods and goddesses He was not thus a bigoted Śaiva Hence the god Kalapriyanatha at whose fair his plays were staged need not necessarily be identical with Mahakala of Ujjayinī

We shall next proceed to glean what information we can

1 See e g *ibid* Notes p 3

2 यद्वेदाध्ययन तथोपनिषदां साङ्ख्यस्य योगस्य च
ज्ञान तत्कथनेन किं न हि तत कश्चिद्गुणो नाटके । v 7

The evidence set forth above will, I hope, convince scholars that Padampur near Āmgaon was the birth-place of Bhavabhūti. Government has been aware of the existence of the ruins of massive buildings at Padampur for more than eighty years,[1] but it has undertaken no excavation work there or, for the matter of that, anywhere else in Vidarbha. I would, therefore, draw the attention of the Archæological Department to this important site. In any case, no other place of the name of Padmapura in Vidarbha is known to have such old ruins. I, therefore, feel no hesitation in concluding that Padampur near Āmgaon in the Bhaṇḍārā district was the ancestral home and the birth place of Bhavabhūti.

1. "There are some curious old remains of massive stone buildings in the neighbourhood at a place called Padampur, but their origin is not known." C.P. Gazetteer, 2nd ed.

4 IDENTIFICATION OF KĀLAPRIYANĀTHA

From the *prastāvanās* of all the three plays of Bhavabhūti we learn that they were first staged at the fair of the god Kalapriyanatha For instance, the Sūtradhāra says in the *prastāvanā* of his first play *Mahāvīracharita* – भगवत कालप्रियनाथस्य यात्रायामार्यमिश्रा समादिशन्ति । (Tr –The venerable persons gathered at the fair of the divine Kalapriyanatha have ordered me as follows) His next play *Mālatīmadhava* contains, in its *prastāvanā*, the following statement about its first performance – मारिष, सुविहितानि रङ्गमङ्गलानि सन्निपातितश्च भगवत कालप्रियनाथस्य यात्राप्रसङ्गेन नानादिगन्तवास्तव्यो महाजनसमाज । आदिष्टश्चास्मि विद्वज्जनपरिषदा यथा केनचिदपूर्वप्रकरणेन वय विनोदयितव्या इति । (Tr –Marisha, the auspicious rites of the stage have been duly performed A large concourse of people, residing in different quarters, has gathered here on the occasion of the fair of the divine Kalapriyanātha I have been ordered by the assembly of learned people that they should be entertained with the representation of some new play) That the third play of Bhavabhūti viz the *Uttararāmacharita* was also staged first at the fair of the same god Kālapriyanātha is clearly stated in its *prastāvanā* Says the Sūtradhāra, अद्य खलु भगवत कालप्रियनाथस्य यात्रायामार्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि । (Tr – Today I make the following request to the venerable people assembled here on the occasion of the fair of the divine Kālapriyanatha) It will thus be seen that Bhavabhūti s plays did not at first obtain recognition at a royal court, but they received popular support and were first staged at the fair of the god Kalapriyanatha From the description in the *Mālatīmādhava* it appears that the temple of Kalapriyanatha was very famous and attracted people from all parts of India An attempt is made in this article to fix the location of this temple

Let us first see what the Sanskrit commentators have to say on this question In the MSS of Bhavabhūti s plays the name of this god appears in two forms viz Kalapriyānātha and

collect about the temple of Kālapriyanātha from Sanskrit works and inscriptional records

Several Purānas such as the *Bhavishya, Varāha* and *Skanda* narrate the story of Sāmba, son of Krishna When Nārada told Krishna *that some of his wives were in love with Sāmba* Krishna investigated the matter and cursed Sāmba that he would suffer from leprosy Thereafter, Sāmba repaired to Mulasthāna where he propitiated the Sun god and, by his favour, was cured of that fell disease The god next told him that he would soon obtain his image which he should instal at that place Samba, accordingly, noticed an image of the Sun god floating in the river Chandrabhāgā when he had gone there to bathe in company with sages He removed the image from the stream and established it in the Mitravana The god next told Sāmba that the image had been fashioned by Viśvakarman the architect of the gods out of the Kalpavriksha and sent down the Chandrabhāgā for his sake He then added—

सांनिध्य मम पूर्वाह्णे सुतारे द्रक्ष्यते जनः ।
कालप्रिये च मध्याह्नेऽपराह्णे चात्र नित्यश ॥

[Tr—People will always notice my presence in the forenoon at *Sutira at noon at Kālapriya and in the afternoon at this place* (i e Mūlasthāna)] Some Mss of the Purana read मुण्डीरे in place of सुतीरे. The *Varāhapurana* states in the following verses where these three places were situated —

साम्ब सूर्यप्रतिष्ठां च कारयामास तत्त्ववित् ।
उदयाचले च संस्थाप्य यमुनायाश्च दक्षिणे ॥
मध्ये कालप्रिय देव मध्याह्ने स्थाप्य चोत्तमम् ।
मूलस्थान ततः पश्चाद् अस्तमानाचले रविम् ।
स्थाप्य त्रिमूर्ति साम्बस्तु प्रातर्मध्यापराह्णिकम् ॥
(Adhyaya 178, vv 55 57)

These verses tell us that Samba established the images of the Sun-god at three places viz (i) on the eastern mountain, (ii) at Kalapriya on the southern bank of the Yamunā and (iii) at Mūlasthana on the western mountain The first of these places is also called गंगासागरसंगम i.e confluence of the Gangā and the

ocean Elsewhere, it bears the name *Surya kānana* or *Ravikshetra* According to the *Brahmapurāna*, *Ravi kshetra* was the name of Konāditya or Konarka, modern Konarak, a famous temple of the Sun, about thirty miles from the town of Puri in Orissa The existing temple was built by the Ganga king Narasimha I in the thirteenth century A D About its architectural importance Sir John Marshall says,[1] "If the question were put to me, which are the noblest monuments of ancient India, I should name without hesitation the following among Muhammadan monuments, the Taj Mahal at Agra, among Hindu, the Black Pagoda at Konarak and the Kailāsa temple at Ellora, and among Buddhist, the frescoed cave temples of Ajanta and the Stupas of Sanchi The temple at Konarak is built on the seashore, evidently at a place which had been held sacred from very early times

The second sacred place of Sun worship situated in the west was Mūlasthana, modern Multan, which is on the bank of the Chandrabhāga (modern Chenab) as stated in the Puranas In mediæval times there was a well known temple of the Sun at Multan From the description of the image of the Sun god given by Arab chroniclers it appears that it was made of wood and had two gems set in its eyes[2] This agrees with the statement in the *Bhavishyapurāna* that the image came floating in the river Chandrabhaga

The temple at Multan was very rich as it attracted pilgrims not only from the Panjab and Sindh, but from distant parts of India also When Muhammad Kasim captured Multan he is said to have obtained thirteen thousand two hundred maunds of gold from this temple The Arabs were iconoclasts, but they allowed the worship of the image at Multan to continue as it brought them a large revenue from the offerings of the devotees The Pratiharas of Kanauj and other powerful rulers of North

1 Sir John Marshall *The Monuments of Sanchi*, p 1

2 *H M H I*, Vol I p 880

India tried to wrest this town from the possession of the Muslims, but did not succeed, for when the Arabs were opposed by greater numbers, 'they threatened to break the idol and the Hindus retired'[1]

We have seen that there were famous temples of the sun at Sutira or Konarka in the east and at Mulasthana (Multān) in the west, which attracted pilgrims in large numbers from all parts of India The same must have been true of the third holy place of Sun worship viz Kālapriya It was apparently situated in the middle part of North India, since, according to the Puranas, the Sun was present there at noon From the passage in the *Varahapurana* cited above, it is clear that Kalapriya was situated on the south bank of the Yamuna In the *Kavya mimamsā* Rajaśekhara tells us that it was to the south of Gadhipura or Kanauj[2] It seems therefore probable that Kala priya is identical with the modern town of Kālpi which is situated on the bank of the Yamuna Kalpi contains some ancient mounds which deserve to be excavated

That Kalapriya was situated on the bank of the Yamuna and had an extensive courtyard can also be proved on the evidence of inscriptions In the beginning of the tenth century A D the Rashtrakūta king Indra III was ruling in the Deccan Soon after his accession in *circa* A D 915 he led a campaign in North India and pressed as far as Kanauj which he devastated In the course of this campaign he had to encamp with his army in the extensive courtyard of Kālapriya for some time, before he crossed the Yamuna The following verse, which occurs in the Cambay[3] plates, describes this incident graphically—

यन्मायद्द्विपदन्तघातविषम कालप्रियप्राङ्गण
तार्णां यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।

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1 *Ibid*, Vol II p 198

2 अनियतत्वाद्दिशामनिश्चिता दिग्विभाग इत्येके । तथाहि ' यो गाधिपुरस्य दक्षिण स कालप्रियस्योत्तर । *Kavyamimamsa* p 94

3 *Ep Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38

येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलित
नाम्नाऽद्यापि जनै कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥

(Tr. – The court yard *(of the temple)* of the god Kālapriya was rendered uneven by the strokes of the tusks of his rutting elephants. His horses crossed the unfathomable Yamunā, which rivals the ocean *(in expanse)*. He completely devastated the enemy's city Mahodaya so that even now it has become greatly renowned among the people by the name of Kuśasthala.)[1]

This verse shows that the court yard of the temple of the god Kālapriya (or Kālapriyanātha) was so extensive that the whole army of king Indra III consisting of elephants, horses and foot soldiers could be accommodated in it. The town where the temple was situated was on the bank of the Yamunā, for we are told that Indra's army had to cross it before attacking Mahodaya (Kanauj). The drafter of these grants has not mentioned any other town in the description of Indra III's northern campaign. He has described Kālapriya, evidently because it had become famous throughout India on account of its temple of the Sun god and Indra III could invest Kanauj only after crossing the Yamunā at that place. Kālpī, the modern representative of Kālapriya, lies on the road from Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed) to Kanauj. The latter is only about 75 miles to the north of Kālpī. The inscription does not, of course, state what god was worshipped in the temple at Kālapriya, but its other description of the town agrees with the information gleaned above from the Purāṇas and the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that at Kālapriya (modern Kālpī) there was a temple of the Sun with an extensive courtyard, which was far famed and attracted pilgrims from all parts of India and that it was there and not at Ujjayini

1. *Mahodaya and Kuśasthala* have *double entendre*. *Mahodaya* means (i) Kanauj and (ii) prosperous. *Kuśasthala* is another name of Kanauj. Its other meaning is a place of darbha grass. What the poet means is that Indra III so completely devastated Kanauj, the prosperous capital of the Pratīhāras, that it became full of grass. The name *Kuśasthala*, descriptive of its devastated condition, has still clung to it.

that the plays of Bhavabhūtı were first represented In view of this we shall be able to appreciate better the significance of the following verse in praise of the Sun-god, inserted by the poet in the *prastāvanā* of the *Malatımādhava*[1] —

> कल्याणाना त्वमसि महसा भाजन विश्वमूर्त
> धुर्या लक्ष्मीमथ मयि भृश धेहि देव प्रसाद ।
> यद्यत्पाप प्रतिजहि जगन्नाथ नम्रस्य तन्मे
> भद्र भद्र वितर भगवन् भूयसे मङ्गलाय ॥

After Bhavabhutı s plays were staged at Kalapriya, his fame reached the ears of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, who invited him to his court and gave him liberal patronage, as stated in the *Gaüdavaho* of Vakpatiraja and the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana

It will thus be seen that the temple of Kalapriyanatha mentioned in the plays of Bhavabhutı was dedicated to the Sun god and not to Śiva and that it was situated at Kalpı and not at Ujjayinı

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1 *Mālat mādhava*, Act I, v 3.

5 BHAVABHŪTI AND UMBEKA*

One of the controversial questions which still await satisfactory solution is whether the Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti and the *Mīmāmsaka* Umbeka were identical or different. Several scholars who have dealt with this problem have come to different conclusions It is therefore proposed to deal with it here in the light of accumulated material

It was the late Shankar Pandurang Pandit, who, in the introduction to his edition of the *Gaudavaho*, first drew attention to the statements in the colophons of two Acts of the *Malatī mādhava*, which implied the identity of these two great writers. The *Mālatīmādhava* is well known as a play of Bhavabhūti In the *prastāvanā* (prologue) of it the poet has given us much information about himself and his ancestors It is clearly stated therein that the play was written by the poet Bhavabhūti, who had the title *Śrīkaṇṭha* Similar statements occur in the other two plays of Bhavabhūti viz the *Mahāvīracharita* and the *Uttararāmacharita* In the colophons of several Acts of all these plays or at least at the end of them, the name of Bhavabhūti is mentioned as their author But in the colophon of the sixth Act of a MS of the *Malatīmādhava*, about 500 years old, which he had obtained from M V Lele of Indore, S P Pandit noticed Umbekācarya mentioned as the author of the play Umbeka was further described therein as *Śrī Kumārilasvāmi prasāda prapta vāg vaibhava* i e as one who has obtained his literary power through the favour of the illustrious Kumārilasvāmin In the colophon of the third Act in the same MS, the play was stated to have been written by a pupil of Kumārila On the strength of these two statements, S P Pandit first propounded the theory that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka were identical and that Bhavabhūti was a pupil of the great Mīmāṁsaka Kumārila In the Preface to his edition of the *Malatīmādhava* Dr R G Bhandarkar conceded that this view did not conflict chrono

* *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol xxxiv pp 2 f

logically with any known fact He, however, felt certain difficulties in accepting it, because no other MS of the play collated by him contained such a statement and also because Bhavabhuti does not appear to speak of Mīmāṁsā as a subject which he had studied, though he makes mention of some other branches of knowledge Again, Bhavabhuti makes no mention of his *guru* Kumarila, from whom he is said to have obtained his *vājvaibhava* For all these reasons Dr Bhandarkar felt dubious about the statements, but he did not reject them entirely He left their verification to future research[1] Since then two works of Umbeka viz his commentary called *Tatparyaṭīkā*[2] on the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila and another[3] on the *Bhāvanāviveka* of Maṇḍana have been published Besides, references to Umbeka and his views occurring in several works such as Kamalaśīla's commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakshita,[4] the *Chitsukhi* and its commentary called *Nayanaprasādinī*,[5] Ramakṛishna's commentary called *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī*[6] on the *Śāstradīpikā* of Parthasarathimiśra and Śrīdeva's *Syādvādaratnakara*,[7] have also become known After studying them several learned scholars such as M M Kuppuswami Sastri,[8] M M Ganganath Jha[9] and M M Dr P V Kane[10] have accepted the identity of Bhavabhuti and Umbeka Dr Kunhan Raja, on the other hand, in the course of a discussion of several controversial subjects, has thus expressed his opinion about this problem He says at one place, 'Identification of Bhavabhuti with Umbeka is a bare baseless assumption'.[11]

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1 *Malatimadhava* edited by R G Bhandarkar Preface p ix

2 Madras University Sanskrit Series, No 11

3 Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Texts No VI

4 Gaekwad s Oriental Series Nos 30 and 31

5 Pub by the Nirnayasagar Press p 205

6 Pub by the Nirnayasagar Press pp 2, 14 30 48 etc

7 See extract in Dr Kunhan Raja s Intro to his edition of Bhattaputra Jayamisra s com on the *Ślokavartlika* p 12

8 *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, p 411

9 See his Introduction to the *Bhavanaviveka* part II p 4

10 See his Introd to the *Uttararamacharita* Third Ed, p 20

11 *Tatparyatika*, Introduction, p xxxiv

Elsewhere he writes, 'The entire question of the identity of Umbeka with Bhavabhūti must also remain in a state of suspense until more reliable evidences come forth.'[1] In view of this divergence of opinion, it has become necessary to discuss the problem again. Dr Raja has provided ample material for a critical examination of it in the learned introduction to his edition of Umbeka's commentary on the *Ślokavārttika*.

There are two allied questions (i) Was Umbeka a pupil of Kumārila? If he was not, what is his date? and (ii) Were Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical? I shall not discuss the first of these in detail. Since Umbeka has discussed several readings in the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila and the *Bhāvanāviveka* of Maṇḍana,[2] he must have flourished some time after not only Kumārila but also Maṇḍana. He could not therefore have been a pupil of Kumārila. The upper limit of his date may be fixed as A D 775. The earliest writer who mentions Umbeka's views is Kamalaśīla, the pupil of the famous Buddhist philosopher Śāntarakshita. In his commentary on Śāntarakshita's *Tattvasangraha*, Kamalaśīla cites and criticises the views of one Ubeyaka about the *svataḥ prāmāṇya* of cognitions[3]. This Ubeyaka appears to be identical with the *Mīmāṃsaka* Umbeka. Kamalaśīla, who was a pupil of Śāntarakshita, is placed in the period A D 800 to 825. Umbeka whose views he criticises could not, therefore, have flourished later than A D 800. The period of Umbeka's literary activity may therefore be taken to be A D 775 to 800.

Were Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical?

We shall next take up the question of the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. It is now agreed on the evidence

1 *Ibid* p xxxiii

2 *Ibid*, pp xxx x and xl

3 It may be noted in this connection that the name *Umbeka* has been corrupted into *Omvaka* in the *Syādvāda ratnākara* of Srīdeva. See Kunhan Raja's Introd to his ed of Jayamiśra's com on the *Ślokavārttika*

of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and other works that Bhavabhūti flourished in the first quarter of the eighth century A D He could not therefore be identical with Umbeka who flourished at least half a century later Still, we must also examine critically some other arguments which are advanced to prove their identity. They may be stated as follows :—

(i) As stated before, a MS of the *Mālatīmādhava*, about 500 years old, states that the play was composed by Umbeka From the *prastāvanā* of it, however, it is clear that it was a work of Bhavabhūti Hence Bhavabhūti and Umbeka are identical.

This argument has not much force As Dr R G Bhandarkar has stated, he did not notice a similar statement anywhere in the MSS collated by him, which came from different parts of the country from Kashmir to Mysore We cannot rely on the *evidence of a single MS, setting aside the combined testimony* of so many other MSS In his works Bhavabhūti nowhere mentions Umbeka as another name of his and Umbeka also nowhere tells us that he was also known as Bhavabhūti We can conceive of no reason why they should both be silent about their other names if they had been current The testimony of other writers who flourished centuries after them has not much weight Besides, Bhavabhūti was a native of Vidarbha His ancestors lived in Padmapura which was situated in Vidarbha It has been identified with the village Padampur in the Bhandara District of Vidarbha The names of Bhavabhūti's ancestors viz Mahākavi, Gopāla and Nīlakaṇṭha are of Sanskritic origin like those of the Brahmanas mentioned in the copper plate grants of the time found in Vidarbha The name Umbeka appears to be Dravidian The identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka appears doubtful in view of this difference in the types of their names

(ii) Another reason advanced to prove the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka is the occurrence of the following verse in the beginning of the *Tātparyaṭīkā* of Umbeka, which is a commentary on the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila[1] —

1. *Tātparyaṭīkā*, p. 1.

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

This very verse occurs in the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti From his plays we know that Bhavabhūti was in the habit of repeating his verses in more than one work. So he may have repeated this verse in the beginning of his commentary on the *Ślokavārttika* in order to tell his contemporary captious critics that he was confident that his philosophical works, like his plays, would be appreciated by people of other lands or of future times. The repetition of this verse in the beginning of the *Ślokavārttika-tātparyaṭīkā* proves the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka.

This argument also is not unassailable. So far only one MS. of the *Tātparyaṭīkā* of Umbeka has been discovered, from which the commentary has been edited by Pandit Ramanath Sastri and Dr. Kunhan Raja in the Madras University Sanskrit Series. The top portion of the first leaf of the MS. where this verse is said to have occurred is now much damaged The first line is completely lost. Even in the second and third lines some syllables are missing From a calculation of the syllables in other lines, Dr. Raja concedes that there was enough space for the verse in the first line, but he doubts if it actually occurred there for the following reasons :—(i) It would leave no space for the *maṅgala* which must have occurred in the beginning of the commentary; and (ii) this verse is extremely inappropriate in this place. Why should Bhavabhūti be apologetic in writing a work on *Mīmāṁsā?* This verse appears quite appropriate in the beginning of his play if he wrote it after his works on the Śāstras For these reasons Dr. Raja thinks that this verse may have at first been written in the margin by some one who knew the tradition about the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka and it may have later been incorporated in the text of the commentary by some scribe.[1]

1. See his Introd. to the *Tātparyaṭīkā*, pp. xxx f.

We do not share Dr Raja's doubts regarding the occurrence of the verse *ye nāma* etc in the first line of Umbeka's *Tatparyaṭīkā* We may well believe the statement of the first editor Pandit S K Ramnath Sastri, who made a transcript of it for the edition We do not also think that the verse could not have occurred in the first line since it leaves no space for a *maṅgala śloka* All writers do not write a *maṅgala śloka* in the beginning of their works There is no *maṅgala* in the beginning of the *Bhāvanāviveka* of Maṇḍana As for the argument that the verse appears inappropriate in the beginning of the *Tatparyaṭīkā*, we may say that like Bhavabhūti, Umbeka may have provoked the criticism of his contemporaries He was a great *Mīmāṁsaka* On several points he held views which were opposed to those of the earlier writers as appears clear from the citations in the commentary *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī* on Pārthasārathimiśra's *Śāstradīpikā* [1] It is not unlikely that he aroused much antagonism to himself by his criticism of such great writers as Śabara and Kumārila He was, however, not a man to be cowed down It should therefore be no matter for surprise if he wanted to tell his contemporary critics that his works were not intended for them They would be appreciated by people of other lands or by future generations He must have found Bhavabhūti's verse *ye nāma kecid-iha* etc quite suitable for expressing his feelings So he seems to have adopted it instead of composing a new one for the purpose As the verse did not contain the name of Bhavabhūti, it was equally appropriate in the case of Umbeka It may be noted in this connection that Umbeka has cited another verse, *viz*,

गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः ।
उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥

from the *Mahābhārata*[2] in support of his criticism of the views of Śabara and Kumārila Dr Raja has cited some other

1 See the references in n 6, p 44 above

2 *Udyogaparvan* 178 48, *Śāntiparvan*, 140, 48 (with the third quarter as दण्डो भवति शासनम्) Also *ibid*, 57, 7 I am indebted for these references to Dr Kane

instances of commentators borrowing verses from earlier writers and using them for their own purpose.[1] The verse

चतुर्मुखमुखाम्भोजवनहंसवधूर्मम ।
मानसे रमतां नित्यं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

which occurs in the beginning of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* has, for instance, been used as a *maṅgala śloka* in Uvaṭa's *Sarvānukramaṇī bhāṣya*. Several instances of the same type can also be cited from inscriptions. The verse

नमस्तुङ्गशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ।
त्रैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥

which occurs in the beginning of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* is also noticed in the Hadali inscription, dated Śaka 1006, of the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla II[2] The identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka cannot therefore be proved on the evidence of the occurrence of the verse *ye nāma kechid iha* etc in the beginning of the *Tātparyaṭīkā* of Umbeka

Another argument advanced by Dr Raja to disprove the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka has not, however, much force 'In the whole of the three works of Bhavabhūti', says Dr Raja, 'I have not been able to discover anything that can be called a partiality for *Mīmāṁsā*. If at all there is anything, it is a sort of partiality for *Vedānta*.'[3] He therefore thinks that since Umbeka was a great *Mīmāṁsaka*, he could not have been identical with Bhavabhūti who was a *Vedāntin*. Dr R G Bhandarkar also expressed the same view. Dr Kane, on the other hand, who accepts the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka, explains away the difficulty by supposing that Bhavabhūti *alias* Umbeka was a pupil of Kumārila in early life and that in later life he leaned towards the Vedānta.[4] Dr Raja's argument is not, however, quite cogent. It is true that Bhavabhūti does not parade his knowledge of the *Mīmāṁsā* but he could not have been ignorant of that system. He came of a learned family

1 *Tātparyaṭīkā* Introd p xxvii 2 *Ind Ant* Vol xiii p 92
3 *Tātparyaṭīkā* Introd pp xxv and xxvi
4 Introd to the *Uttararāmacarita* p xiv

of the Śrotriyas His forefathers were always engaged in the study and teaching of the Vedas and the Vedaṅgas One of them had performed the Vājapeya sacrifice Bhavabhūti, who was born in such a pious and learned family, could not have been ignorant of the *Mīmāṃsā*[1] As a matter of fact, it is not necessary to make a conjecture in this case, for Bhavabhūti describes himself in the *prastāvanās* of his plays as पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञ[2] In this expression *vākya* is taken to refer to the *Mīmāṃsā* which has laid down rules for the interpretation of Vedic passages In the verse *yad Ved ādhyayanam* etc which mentions his knowledge of the different branches of Sanskrit learning, *Ved ādhyayana* probably stands for the Mimamsa as *Upaniṣhad adhyayana* does for the Vedanta That no works on the Mimāmsā written by Bhavabhuṭi have yet come to light is an *argumentum ex silentio*, which is not conclusive We may note in this connection that we have so far not come across any work by Bhavabhūti on the *Tantraśāstra*,[3] but that he wrote on that *Śāstra* also is clear from the following verses which occur in the *Tantraloka* of Abhinavagupta[4] While controverting the view that one cannot attain the position of a *Guru* without *dīkshā* (initiation), *abhisheka* etc , Abhinava says,

असद्देतदिति प्राहुर्गुरवस्तत्त्वदर्शिन ।
श्रीमोमानन्दकल्याणभवभूतिपुरोगमा ।
तथा हि कौशिकाशास्त्रविवृतौ तेऽभ्यधुर्गुरा ॥

This shows that Bhavabhuti wrote a work on the *Tantraśastra* He may similarly have written some work on the *Mīmāṃsā* also This is not therefore a cogent argument to disprove his identity with Umbeka

(iii) The third argument advanced to prove the identity of Bhavabhuti and Umbeka is that Chitsukhacārya appears to

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1 He uses the term अववद् and cites a passage from Śabara s Bhāṣya as shown by Dr Kane.

2. *Uttararāmacharita* (ed by P V Kane), p 4

3 He has however, used some terms of the *Tantraśāstra* in the *Mālatīmādhava*, Act ix, v

4 I am indebted to my friend Prof G T Deshpande for drawing my attention to this passage

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suggest it in the following passage from his *Tattvapradīpikā*[1] :—

तस्माच्छास्त्रं शब्दविज्ञानादसंनिकृष्टे बुद्धिरिति लक्षणमलक्षणम्। तथा आप्तवाक्यं शब्दप्रमाणमिति नैयायिकानामपि।

आप्तोदीरितवाक्येषु मालतीमाधवादिषु।
व्यभिचाराच्च तद्युक्तमाप्तत्वस्यानिरुक्तितः॥

स्वकपोलकल्पितमालतीमाधवादिवाक्येषु प्रामाण्याभावादतिव्याप्तिः। न हि पुरा आप्त एव सन् नाटकनाटिकादिप्रबन्धविरचनमात्रेणानाप्तो भवति भवभूतिः। उक्तं चैतदुम्बेकेन—'यदाप्तोऽपि कस्मैचिदुपदिशति न स्वयाननुभूतार्थविषयं वाक्यं प्रयोक्तव्यम्। यथा अङ्गुल्यग्रे हस्तियूथशतमास्ते इति। तत्रार्थव्यभिचारः स्फुटः।

In this passage Chitsukhāchārya, while finding fault with the defintion of the *śabda-pramāṇa* given by the Naiyāyikas viz. आप्तवाक्यं शब्दप्रमाणम् points out that it suffers from the fault of *ativyāpti*. To prove his point, Chitsukha cites the instance of Bhavabhūti. Since Bhavabhuti has written on the Śāstras, he may be regarded as *āpta* or trustworthy. But in that case what he has said in his plays like the *Mālatīmādhava* will also have to be taken as authoritative; for he will not cease to be *āpta* merely because he wrote imaginary plays like that work. This is also stated by Umbeka 'An *āpta*', says Umbeka, 'tells people that they should not state what is not within their actual experience. If some body says, for instance, that a hundred herds of elephants are standing on the tip of a man's finger, the falsity of his statement will be self evident.' In this passage Chitsukha, by citing a passage from Umbeka immediately after referring to Bhavabhūti, implies that the two are identical. And this is made explicit in the commentary *Nayanaprasādinī* : भवभूतिरुम्बेकः। एतदेव ग्रन्थान्तरस्थेन तद्वचनेन संमतयति। (Bhavabhūti and Umbeka are identical. This is shown by a statement from another work of him i e. Bhavabhūti)

The passage from the *Chitsukhi* has not been understood properly. Had Chitsukha meant to convey that Bhavabhuti and Umbeka were identical, he would have expressed himself in some such words as the following —उक्तं च तेनैव. His com-

1 NirnayasāgarPress ed , p 265.

mentator, no doubt, understands his words in that manner and makes the meaning explicit, but he is a very late author His words only indicate that in his time it was believed that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka were identical

We have thus seen that there is no valid reason for identifying Bhavabhuti and Umbeka They *flourished at different* times Neither of them gives any indication in his works that he bore the other name Their names, besides, suggest that they belonged to different parts of the country They must therefore be regarded as different

It is not difficult to surmise how this belief in their identity originated The citation of *ye nāma kecid-iha* in the beginning of Umbeka's *Tatparyaṭika* seems to have misled people into thinking that Umbeka was the same as Bhavabhuti, who wrote the verse in his *Malatimadhava* Again, the passage in the *Tātparyaṭīkā* where Umbeka has cited the verse गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानत । उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ contains a refutation of the views of Kumarila So it was supposed that by citing that verse, Umbeka was seeking to support the refutation of his *guru's* views Kumarila was thus supposed to have been the *guru* of Umbeka Kumarila's pupil Mandana was a famous *Mimāmsaka* Umbeka, who was believed to be a pupil of Kumārila, was equally reputed So he came to be identified with Mandana This belief is noticed in the verse *Umbeka ity-abhidhitasya hi tasya loke* etc of Vidyāranya's *Sankaradigvijaya* [1] Further, Vidyāranya describes that Mandana, after his defeat by Śankara, became a sannyasin and adopted the name of Sureśvara [2] So Maṇḍana, Sureśvara, Umbeka and Bhavabhūti came to be regarded as identical In many verses Vidyāranya gives Viśvarūpa as another name of Mandana [3] So one and the same individual was supposed to have borne five names viz Mandana, Sureśvara, Viśvarūpa, Umbeka and

1. *Śrimacchaṅkaradigvijaya* (Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series), VII, 116
2. *Ibid.*, x, 104
3. *Ibid.*, VIII, 63 etc

Bhavabhūti This has caused endless confusion in the history of Indian philosophy.

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion has made it plain that the Sanskrit playwright Bhavabhūti flourished in a different age and was a different person from the *Mīmāṃsaka* Umbeka.

6 THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF RĀJAŚEKHARA'S WORKS*

In his well known essay entitled "*Rajasekhara His Life and Writings*," written as far back as 1856, Prin V S Apte chronologically arranged the then known works of Rajaśekhara as follows—1 the *Karpuramañjari* 2 the *Viddhasalabhañjikā*, 3 the *Bala rāmāyana*, and 4 the *Balabhārata* otherwise called *Prachanda pāndava* When Prin Apte wrote our knowledge of the age was very meagre Some of the inscriptions of the Pratihara and Kalachuri princes at whose court Rājasekhara flourished were either not discovered or not correctly interpreted Since then Dr D R Bhandarkar[1] has clearly shown that the Gurjara Pratihara kings who patronised Rajaśekhara must be placed in the beginning of the 10th century One other work of Rajasekhara viz the *Kavyamimāmsa* has again, been discovered and published in the Gaekwad s Oriental Series Professors Sten Konow[2] and Keith[3], who have written on the subject have in the main accepted the chronological order first proposed by Prin Apte They place, however, the *Balaramayana* before the *Viddhasalabhañjika* and as the latter play was staged at the Kalachuri court in Tripurī (modern Tewar near Jabalpur) they suppose that Raja śekhara visited that court after the death of Mahendrapāla But as the last drama *Balabharata* is left unfinished they conjecture that the poet returned to the court of the Pratiharas in Kanauj and died there On the other hand Mr C D Dalal has remarked as follows in the preface to his edition of the *Kavyāmīmāmsā*[4]—'Rajasekhara began his literary career as a *Balakavi* so called from his *Bālaramayana* and *Balabharata* These two dramas as well as the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* are his early productions The *Karpuramañjari* and the *Kāryamīmāmsā* are his later

* *Prof K B Pathak Commemoration Volume* pp 359 f

1 Gurjaras, *J B B R A S.*, Vol xx, p 10

2. *Das Indische Drama* pp 84 foll

3. *The Sanskrit Drama* p 232

4 *The Kavyamimāmsā* first edition p xvi

productions as by this time he had achieved fame as a *Kavirāja*' As there is such a difference of opinion among scholars on the question, it is necessary to examine it in the light of the historical and literary data that are now available

Before proceeding to examine the arguments advanced by different scholars in favour of the priority or posteriority of a particular work it is necessary to state my own view on this question I would place the works of Rājaśekhara chronologically as follows —1 the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, 2 the *Bālabhārata*, 3 the *Karpūramañjarī*, 4 the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and 5 the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* As his other works e g the *Haravilāsa* and the *Bhuvanakoshi* are known only from quotations, it is not possible to assign a definite chronological position to them

The *Bālarāmāyaṇa*—In the prologue to this play Rājaśekhara speaks of his six *prabandhas*[1] Unless the verse was interpolated later on, which is unlikely, we must suppose that these were his juvenile productions which have been irrecoverably lost As we shall see later, Rājaśekhara seems to have gone to Kanauj very early in his life The six *prabandhas* which must have been composed in his boyhood seem to have given him the title of *Bālakavi*[2] This title he has perfixed to his two plays the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and the *Balabhārata* Of the two, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* is the earlier as it was staged at the court of Mahendrapala, while the *Balabhārata* was performed before his son Mahipala The lengthy prologue of the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, in which the poet gives more information about himself than anywhere else, its apologetic tone, the inordinate length of the play, the crude devices such as the introduction of dolls with parrots in their mouths, the anachronisms in the scene of *Sītāsvayamvara*, all these indicate that it was the first play of our poet

1 ब्रूते य कोपि दाप महदिति सुमतिर्बालरामायणेऽस्मिन्
प्रष्टव्योऽसौ पटीयानिह भणितिगुणो विद्यते वा न वेति ।
यद्यस्ति स्वस्ति तुभ्य भव पठनरुचिर्विद्ध न षट् प्रबन्धा-
न्नेव चेद्दीर्घमास्ता नटवटुवदने जर्जरा काव्यकन्था ॥ 1, 6 —Benares Ed p 8

2 बालकई कइराओ णिब्भरराअस्स तह उवज्झाओ ।
इअ जस्स पएहिं परम्पराइ माहप्पमारूढ ॥—*Karpuramañjari*, H O S, I, 9.

The *Balabhārata*—This seems to be his next production As said above, it was staged before Mahipāla to whom it seems to refer in its other title *Prachandapandava* No satisfactory explanation of this alternative title has yet been given C Cappeller, who has edited it, has suggested that the play was so called because it culminated in the rage of the Pandavas [1] This is hardly convincing The real reason seems to be that the author wanted to associate his patron s name with his play as Kalidasa has done in his *Vikramorvasiyam* This will be quite evident from the fact that another court poet of Mahipala viz Kshemiśvara has also named his drama *Chandakauśika* with the same object in view The early Pratihara kings of Kanauj are known to have assumed several alternative names Bhoja I, the grandfather of Mahipala was also known as Mihira Prabhasa and Ādivaraha His son Mahendrapala was also called Mahendrayudha, Nirbhayaraja and Bhaka Similarly his son Mahipala is known to historians by his alternative name Kshitipala [2] The drama *Chandakauśika* of Ksemiśvara shows that he was also known as Karttikeya [3] Now Chanda is but a synonym of Karttikeya [4] So we might suppose that Mahipala bore also the name Chandapala It was therefore, evidently to please their royal patron that both Kshemiśvara and Rajaśekhara have not only incorporated his name in the titles of their works but have also used the words *chanda* and *prachanda* several times in their plays [5] just as Kalidāsa has

1 C Cappeller—*Pracandpandava* Vorwort ix.

2 Cf V A Smith—The Gurjaras of Rajputana and Kanauj *J R A S* for 1909 p 59 foll

3 Cf आदिष्टोऽस्मि दुष्टमत्स्यवृद्धिगुणग्लक्षव्यक्तिसहसा प्र भग्नलीलासमुद्धृतारेप कण्टकेन समरसागरान्प्र मद्भुजदण्डमन्दराकृष्टलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरप्रणयिना श्रीमहीपालदेवेन &c in the प्रस्तावना. Also cf the भरतवाक्य—प्रमुदितभुजना समृद्धशस्या भवतु मही विजयी च भूमिपालः । कविनिस्पृहिता निजगरवे गुणकणिका ह्यनुगृह्यतां गुणज्ञै ॥ अपि च । येनादिश्य प्रयोगं घनपुलकभृता नाटकस्यास्य हर्षाद् वस्त्रालंकारहेम्ना प्रतिदिनमकृशा राशयः सम्प्रदत्ता । तस्य क्षत्रप्रसूतेर्भ्रमतु जगदिदं कार्त्तिकेयस्य कीर्तिः पारे क्षीराब्धिसिन्धोरपि कविमनसा सार्धमग्रेसरेण ॥

4 *Chanda* is included among the names of Karttikeya in the *Mahabharata* Cf Vanaparvan Adhyaya 231 Sl 4

5 Cf चण्डकौशिक II—त्यजति तपनस्तीक्ष्णं चण्ड स्फुरन्निव कौशिको etc III—इतो प्रणम इमां वृत्तस्कूलवासिनी चण्डकात्यायनीम् etc The words चण्ड and प्रचण्ड occur nine times in the first two Acts of the प्रचण्डपाण्डव

used *vikrama* in his *Vikramorvaśiyam*[1] All the extant Mss of the *Prachandapāndava* have only two acts and it is, therefore, taken to be the last work of our author, whose life was cut short before he could finish it But as against this we might note that one of the Mss ends expressly with the remark समाप्तमिदं प्रचण्डपाण्डवाभिधं नाटकम्[2] As we shall see later, the *Karpūramañjarī* and the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* were written after the *Prachandapāndava* Again, one of its *maṅgala ślokas* is cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*[3] Our author, therefore, either did not complete the work for some reason, or, if he did it, its later part has been lost

The *Karpūramañjarī*—This is generally taken to be the first work of our author 'since it was produced at the request of his wife and not a king'[4] This argument does not, however, seem to be sound. In this play Rājaśekhara speaks of himself as a teacher of Nirbhayarāja (i e Mahendrapala)[5] So he was already connected with the court of Kanauj, and there does not seem to be any reason why the play could not have been performed at the instance of his royal patron The poet had, however, already incorporated his own as well as his patron's name in the titles of his two previous works This time he wanted to associate with his drama the name of his wife who seems to have been an accomplished lady, judging from her opinions cited in the *Kāvyamīmaṃsā*[6] Sten Konow takes Chandapāla, the hero of this Prakrit drama, to refer to Mahendrapala , for both Chanda and Mahendra, he says, mean Śiva[7] We have seen, however, that Chandapala was another name of Mahipāla I place this play after the *Balabhārata*, for it commemorates the marriage of

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1 Cf दिष्ट्या विक्रममहिम्ना वर्धते भव नू। Act I 64 अनुत्सेक खलु विक्रमालकार। Act, I, 68 (B S S)

2 Cf C Cappeller *Pracandpaṇḍava*, Vorwort, VIII.

3 यैः सैमितत्ते of the प्रचण्डपाण्डव is quoted in the काव्यमीमांसा p 71.

4 So Keith—*Sanskrit Drama* p 232 Also Sten Know, *Das Indische Drama*, p 85 Contrast Winternitz—*Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Vol III p 240

5 Cf कपू रo Act I, 10 बालकई कइराओ णिब्भराअस्स तह उवज्झाओ। etc

6. See काव्यमीमांसा, pp 20 46 and 47

7 *Das Indische Drama*, p. 85

of Mahipāla with the daughter of a Kuntala king[1] As I have shown elsewhere[2], the Kuntala king who is called Vallabharāja in this play, must refer to a contemporary Rashtrakuta king To understand the full significance of this marriage alliance we must briefly review a few historical events In the beginning of the 10th century the Pratiharas of Kanauj were contending for supremacy with the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed In 916 A D Indra III conquered and devastated Kanauj[3] Mahipala, who fled from his capital had to seek the aid of a Chandella king who must have been either Harsha or his son Yaśovarman. The feeling of revenge which must have been rankling in the mind of Mahipala is reflected in the drama *Chandakausika* of his court poet Kshemiśvara In the prologue to his play the stage manager quotes a saying of persons versed in traditional lore 'Chandra gupta, who with the help of the naturally subtle policy of the revered Chanakya defeated the Nandas and conquered Kusumana gara has now been born as the illustrious Mahīpaladeva, rich in the pride of his arms to exterminate them (i e Nandas) who have been born on the earth as Karnatas[4] The Karnatas spoken of in this passage evidently mean the Rashtrakutas who had their capital at Malkhed in a Canarese district of the Hydera bad State With the aid of the Chandellas Mahipala seems to have made some conquests and again established his power to the north of the Narmada In his *Prachandapandava* Rajaśekhara

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1 Cf चण्डवाल्धरणीहरिणङ्को चक्कवट्टिपअलाहणिमित्त । एत्थ सत्तअवरे रससोत्ते कुन्तलाहिवसुअं परिणेइ । कर्पूर० I 12

2 Cf येनेद हि महोदयारिनगर निर्मूलमुन्मूलित नाम्नाद्यापि जनै कुशस्थलमिति ख्याति परा नीयते । said of Indra III in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV *Ep Ind* Vol VII p 26

3 Cf *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* Vol XI p 37

4 चण्डकौशिक प्रस्तावना—

य संश्रित्य प्रकृतिगहनामार्यचाणक्यनीति
जित्वा नन्दान् कुसुमनगर चन्द्रगुप्तो जिगाय ।
कर्णाटत्व ध्रुवमुपगतानद्य तानेव हन्तु
दोर्दर्पाढ्य स पुनरभवच्छ्रीमहीपालदेव ॥

calls him king of Āryāvarta (North India).[1] He is also described there as an axe to the Kuntalas.[2] Some Years after the above memorable Northern conquest, Indra III died and was succeeded by his son Govinda IV, who was a weak and lascivious king. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, therefore, ceased to be a menance to the Pratīhāra power. It was evidently in the reign of Govinda IV that the marriage alliance commemorated in the *Karpūramañjarī* took place. It is significant that this Prākrit play contains no such vehement attack on the Karṇāṭās or Kuntalas as is seen in the *Chaṇḍakauśika* and *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava*. On the other hand, the Kuntala king is described as one who has endeared himself to all people.[3] I, therefore, place the *Karpūramañjarī* after the *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava*.

The *Vidbhaśālabhañjikā*—Just about this time the Kalachuris of Tripurī came to the forefront. Yuvarājadeva I, who was a grandson of Kokkalla I, a contemporary of Mahīpāla's grandfather Bhoja, was an able and ambitious king. He made extensive conquests in all parts of India and must have also dealt a blow to the declining power of the Pratīhāra dynasty in the last years of Mahīpāla's reign. Rājaśekhara seems to have come back to Tripurī, the home of his anscestors Akālajalada and others, in the train of the victorious conquertor. Here he composed the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* in about A.D. 935 to commemorate Yuvarājadeva's victory over a confederacy of southern kings headed by the Kuntala king Govinda IV in the battle of the Payoshṇī (Pūrṇā).[4]

The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*—Rājaśekhara seems to have continued to live at Tripurī till his death. The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, which contains quotations from his Sanskrit dramas, was undoubtedly his last work.

1. तेन च रघुवंशमुक्तामणिना आर्यावर्तमहाराजाधिराजेन श्रीनिर्भयनरेन्द्रनन्दनेनाधिकृताः सभासदः &c. प्रचण्डपाण्डवम्—प्रस्तावना ।

2. Cf. अजनि जितकुलूतः कुन्तलानां कुमारो हठहृतरमठश्रीः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥ प्रचण्डपाण्डवम्—प्रस्तावना

3. Cf. अत्थि एत्थ दक्खिणावहे कुन्तलेसुं सअलजणवल्लहो वल्लहराओ णाम राआ ।

4. *O. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. lxii.

We need not suppose that it was composed at Kanauj because in one place it says that directions should be measured from Mahodaya (Kanauj)[1] Since the days of Harsha Kanauja had become famous as the Imperial Capital of India and Rājaśekhara had evidently a high regard for it as he had for Mahendra pala, whom he mentions as his pupil even in the prologue to his *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, which was staged in Tripuri

Professors Sten Konow and Keith who consider the *Prachanda pandava* to be the last work of Rājaśekhara, suppose that he re turned to Kanauj after staying for a time at the Chedi court But this does not seem to accord with the known dates of Rājaśekhara's two royal patrons, Mahipala of Kanauj and Yuvarajadeva I of Tripuri From the Haddala and Asiatic Society of Bengal Copperplates we know that Mahipala was ruling in A.D 914 and 931, while the Siyadoni inscription[2] tells us that his successor Devapala was on the throne in A D 948 V A Smith therefore, places the reign of Mahipala approximately between A D 910 and 940 The power of the Pratihara dynasty seems to have been declining towards the close of Mahipala's reign On the other hand as I have shown elsewhere[3] from references in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* Yuvarajadeva I was at the height of his power in about A D 935 There does not, therefore seem to be any reason why Rajaśekhara should leave the prosperous Chedi court for the declining patronage of Kanauj His *Hararijaya* was probably composed at Tripuri under the patronage of the Kalachuri kings who were great devo tees of Śiva just as his *Balarāmayana* was composed at Kanauj at the court of the *Suryavamsi Pratihara king Mahendrapala*

Rajaśekhara's works were studied and his style imitated at Tripuri[4] He seems to have lived to a good old age, for a court poet of Yuvarajadeva II a grandson of Yuvarajadeva I and a

1 'तत्रापि महोदय मूलमवधीकृत्य' इति यायावरीय । काव्यमीमांसा, p 94

2 *Ep Ind* vol. I 170

3 *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol XI p 370

4 See especially the Bilhari Stone Inscription *Ep Ind* Vol. I p 260 The verse य सत्यस्य निाघ etc in the प्रचण्डपाण्डव I 62 occurs *verbatim* in *the Benares Copperplate Inscription of Karna dated A D 1042.*

contemporary of Vākpati Muñja (whose records are dated A.D. 974, 979 & 993), says in the Bilharī Stone Inscription that his composition had evoked praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśekhara [1] If we suppose that Rājaśekhara, who was first called *Bālakavi* on account of his precocious poetic talent, was fifteen years of age when he went to the court of his first patron Mahendrapāla in about A D. 900, he must have been nearly ninety years old at the time of the Bilharī Inscription. Such a long life is also warranted by his prolific literary activity.

1 सुश्लिष्टबन्धघटना विस्मितकविराजशेखरस्तुत्या। आस्तामियमाकल्पं इतिश्च कीर्तिश्च पूर्वा च ॥ *Ep Ind*, vol. I, p 251 ff. I have discussed the meaning of this verse in my article entitled 'Notes on the Bilhari Inscription of the Rulers of Chedi' Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers, vol. I, pp. 17-18. See also *C. I. I.*, vol. IV, p. 224

Section II

PRAKRIT LITERATURE

7 THE HOME OF GUṆĀḌHYA*

Gunadhya is well known as the author of the *Brihatkathā*, written in the Paisāchi Prakrit The original work is not forth coming now, but two Sanskrit versions of it, namely, the *Kathā saritsāgara* of Somadeva and the *Brihatkathamañjarī* of Kshemendra are extant They give an account of his home and early life with slight variation The account does not however, occur in the *Brihatkathāslokasangraha* of Budhasvāmin The *Nepala māhatmya*, again, gives an altogether different story[1] It is not, therefore possible to say whether the Kaśmīri versions of that account are really based on the original *Brihatkatha* and whether all the details given therein are correct But supposing that the account is genuine, an attempt is made here to locate the home of the great poet

It is generally believed that Gunadhya was a native of Pratishthana[2], modern Paithaṇ in the Bombay State, which is well known in Sanskrit literature as the capital of the Satavahanas The *Brihatkathamañjarī* is silent on the ancestral home of Gunādhya It merely says that Somaśarman the grandfather of Gunadhya, was a Brahmana of South India but the *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives the following particulars about Somaśarman s home land—

प्रतिष्ठानेऽस्ति नगर सुप्रतिष्ठितसञ्ज्ञकम् । तत्राभूत् सोमशर्मेत्य कोऽपि ब्राह्मणसत्तम ॥

This clearly shows that Gunadhya s ancestral home was the town of Supratiṣṭhita and that it was situated in the *country* of Pratishṭhāna Supratishṭhita was plainly different from Pratishṭhana, the chief town of the country named after it Pratishṭhana as the name of a large country in South India is also known from Asoka s edicts which mention the Pitinikas (Sanskrit, Pratishthanakas inhabitants of Pratishthāna) along

* *Oriental Thought* Vol I pp 41 f

1 This work makes Guṇāḍhya a native of Mathura and a court poet of king Madana of Ujjayini

2 Keith *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p 267,

with the Bhojas or people of Vidarbha and the Āndhras. Supratishṭhita was evidently a town situated in the country of Pratishṭhāna.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* repeats this name again in the following verse, which states that Guṇāḍhya returned to his native country and entered the town of Supratishṭhita :—

कालेन तत्र सम्प्राप्य सर्वा विद्याः प्रसिद्धिमान्। स्वदेशमागतोऽभूवं दर्शयिष्यन्निजान् गुणान् ॥
प्रविशंश्च चिरात्तत्र नगरे सुप्रतिष्ठिते। अपश्यं शिष्यसहितः शोभां काममहं तदा ॥

The *Brihatkathāmañjarī* gives the further detail that Guṇāḍhya thereafter went to the capital of the Sātavāhana king to meet him.

ततो निखिलविद्यानामाश्रयो वेदपारगः। शातवाहनभूपालं द्रष्टुं यातोऽस्मि तत्पुरम् ॥

The description clearly shows that Guṇāḍhya's ancestral home was Supratishṭhita and that it was different from Pratishṭhāna, the capital of the Sātavāhanas. Somadeva's account is a bit confused. It seems to identify the two towns in the description of Guṇāḍhya's rambles, but this is evidently a mistake.

The town of Supratishṭhita is also mentioned in another place in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The Suratamañjarī *lambaka* gives the following verse in connection with the story of Kuraṅgī :—

प्राक् प्रसेनजितो राज्ञः सुप्रतिष्ठितसंज्ञके। पुरे कुरंगी नामाभूद्रतिरूपवती सुता ॥

The *Brihatkathāmañjarī*, while giving the same story, names the town as Supratishṭha in the following verse :—

नगरे सुप्रतिष्ठाख्ये राज्ञः सेनाजितः पुरा। पुत्री कुरंगिका नाम त्रिदशं धनमाययौ ॥

It will be noticed that the town is called Supratishṭhita in one version and Supratishṭha in the other. The slight variation in the place-name is evidently due to the Sanskritisation of the Prakrit account or perhaps on account of metris causa. There is no doubt, however, that a town of that name existed in the Deccan in the Sātavāhana age. It was clearly different from the capital of the Sātavāhana dynasty, which is named everywhere as Pratishṭhāna. The Suttanipāta, for instance, mentions

Patiṭṭhāna as the capital of Mūlaka[1] Both the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy mention Paithan or Baithan and the latter calls it the capital of Pulumāyi . Nowhere do we find the capital of the Satavahanas called Supratishthita or Supratishtha

But, it may be asked is the name Supratishthita or Supratishtha known from any other source as different from Pratishthana ? In reply to such a question I would invite attention to three copper plate grants which mention the Supratishtha *ahara*

The first reference to this *ahara* occurs in the Poona plates of the dowager Vakataka queen Prabhavati gupta[2]—

श्री प्रभावतीगुप्ता सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे विलवणकस्य पूर्वपार्श्वे शीर्षग्रामस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे कदापिञ्जनस्यापरपार्श्वे सिदिविवरकस्योत्तरपार्श्वे दङ्गुणग्रामे ब्राह्मणाद्यान्ग्रामकुटुम्बिनः कुशलमुक्त्वा समाज्ञापयति ।

This passage states that the village Danguna was situated in the Supratishtha *ahara* and lay to the east of Vilavanaka to the south of Śirshagrama to the west of Kadapiñjana and to the north of Sidivivaraka As these plates were found in distant Poona neither the Supratishtha *ahara* nor the villages situated in it could be identified by the editors of the grant While searching for the places named in another grant of the Vakatakas I could trace some of them[3] Vilavanaka seems to be Vani about 2½ miles to the west and Kadapiñjana Kadajan 3 miles south by east of Hinganghat in the Wardha District of Vidarbha Hinganghat seems to occupy the same place as the ancient village Danguna the affix *ghāṭ* being added to the old place name as it is a fording place on the river Wunnā

The second mention of Supratishtha *ahara* occurs in the Kothuraka grant of the Vakaṭaka king Pravarasena II—

सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे उमानद्या अपरपार्श्वे चिंचापल्ल्या उत्तरे पार्श्वे वोन्थिकखाटकस्य पूर्व पार्श्वे मण्डुकिग्रामस्य दक्षिणे पार्श्वे कोथुरकग्राम ग्राम ।

In my edition of this grant in the *Epigraphia Indica* I have

1 *Suttanipāta* Pārāyanavaggo Vatthugāthā 5 36
2 *Ep Ind* Vol XV pp 39 ff
3 *Ibid* Vol XXVI p 160

shown that the place of the ancient village Kothuraka is now occupied by Mangaon on the right bank of the Wunnā and that the other three villages can still be traced in its vicinity. Thus, Chiñcāpallī is Chicholi on the right bank of the Wunnā, about half a mile to the south of Mangaon; Bonthikavāṭaka is Bothad, and Maṇḍukigrāma, Māṇḍgaon, about 3½ miles to the north by west and 2 miles to the west respectively of Mangaon. The Umā river is plainly none other than the Wunnā. All these places also are situated in the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsil*[1].

The third reference to the Supratiṣṭha *āhāra* is noticed in *the Waḍgaon plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II*, which I have recently edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*[2]. The passage is as follows:

सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे गृध्रग्रामस्य पूर्वतः कदम्बसरकस्य दक्षिणतः नीलीग्रामस्य पश्चिमेन कोकिलारस्य उत्तरतः वेलुसुकं नाम ग्रामः ।

I have shown that most of these villages can even now be traced in the neighbourhood of Chinchmaṇḍal, which lies just to the south of the elbow of the Wunnā and seems to occupy the site of the ancient village Velusuka. Thus, Gṛidhragrāma is Gadeghāṭ, about 8 miles to the west and Nīlīgrāma is Niljai, about 5 miles to the east of Chinchmaṇḍal. Kadambasaraka is Kosārā, about 2 miles to the north. Kokila is probably modern Khatri, which lies about 4 miles to the north-west. These identifications indicate that the ancient Supratishṭha *āhāra* included a large part of the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District and some portion of the Warorā and Yeotmāl *tahsils* of the Chāndā and Yeotmāl Districts of Vidarbha.

In all these grants the *āhāra* is called Supratishṭha. It was evidently so named after the chief town of it called Supratishṭha. This very name occurs in the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives the name as Supratishṭhita probably owing to the exigencies of the metre.

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 160.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 77.

The ancient town of Supratishṭha was probably situated in the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District. It is not possible to locate it definitely without a detailed survey of that area, but I would tentatively suggest its identification with the village Pothrā situated on a small river of the same name which joins the Wunnā. Most of the villages mentioned in the aforecited three passages as situated in the Supratishṭha *āhāra* can be traced within 10 to 15 miles of Pothrā. It may, therefore, represent the chief town of the Supratishṭha *āhāra* and the ancestral home of Guṇāḍhya.

8. THE ORIGINAL NAME OF THE GĀTHĀSAPTAŚATĪ*

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* is the earliest known anthology of Prakrit verses. Tradition ascribes it to Hāla and this is also corroborated by the following verse, which says that Hāla, the beloved of poets, selected seven hundred out of a crore of embellished *gāthās*.

सत्त सआइं कइवच्छलेण कोडीअ मज्झआरम्मि ।
हालेण विरइआइं सालंकाराणं गाहाणं ॥[1]

This Hāla is commonly identified with the homonymous prince of the so-called Āndhra dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas. The anthology also contains the following verse eulogising the munificence of the king Sālāhaṇa (Sanskrit, Sātavāhana)—

आवण्णाइं कुलाइं दो च्चिअ जाणंति उण्णइं णेउं ।
गोरीअ हिअअदइओ अहवा सालाहणणरिंदो ॥[2]

This Sātavāhana was probably none else than Hāla himself. The latter was so called because he belonged to the Sātavāhana royal family. That the Āndhra dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas was called Sātavāhana is known from inscriptions. The first king of this dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas[3] is called Śimuka Sātavāhana in the label inscribed below his relievo in a cave at Nāṇeghāṭ in the Bombay State.[4] Another inscription at Nasik mentions his brother and successor Kṛishṇa as belonging to the Sātavāhana family.[5] Gautamīputra, who

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* *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Thirteenth Session, pp. 370 f.

1. सप्तशतानि कविवत्सलेन कोटेर्मध्ये । हालेन विरचितानि सालंकाराणां गाथानाम् ॥ *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, v. 3. The numbers of the *gāthās* vary in different Mss. and editions of the *Saptaśatī*. They are cited here according to the Nirṇayasāgara edition (pub. in 1911).

2. आपन्नानि कुलानि द्वावेव जानीत उन्नतिं नेतुम् । गौर्या हृदयदयितोऽथवा सातवाहननरेन्द्रः ॥ *Ibid*, v. 467.

3. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 38 f.

4. *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 64.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 93.

later on re-established the power of his family in Maharashtra by exterminating the Kshaharāta dynasty, is eulogised in another Nasik inscription as one who had established the glory of the Sātavāhana family.[1] The Myakdoni rock inscription refers to Puḷumāvi (IV), the last king of the dynasty, as belonging to the Sātavāhana family[2] All these references clearly indicate that the royal family was known by the name of Sātavāhana. I have shown elsewhere[3] that it was so called because it was descended from a king named Sātavāhana even as the Gupta family derived its name from its progenitor, the *Mahārāja* Gupta. Hāla was called Sātavāhana, because he belonged to this same royal family.

Several *gāthās* in this anthology are ascribed by tradition to Hala[4] and some others to Sātavāhana, which shows that Hala-Sātavāhana was not a mere compiler of the anthology, but himself made substantial contributions to it

It has been commonly supposed that the *Gāthāsaptaśati* is identical with the *Koska* of *Subhāshitas* eulogised by the great Sanskrit poet Bana in the following introductory verse in his *Harshacharita*

अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत्सातवाहन । विशुद्धजातिभि कोषं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितै· ॥

'Satavahana compiled an immortal and refined *Kosha* (anthology) of *Subhāshitas* containing faultless *svabhāvoktis* even as he made an inexhaustible treasure not possible in a village, by means of excellent jewels'.

In view of Bana's fondness for *double entendre* it can be easily surmised that *Kosha* must have been the title of Satavā-

1 Cf सातवाहनकुलयसपतिथापनकरस in the Nasik cave inscription of Pulumāvi, *Ibid*, Vol, VIII, pp 60, f

2 रञो सातवाहनाना सिरि पुळुमाविस etc *Ibid*, Vol XIV, p 155

3 *J N S I*, Vol. VIII.

4 Nearly forty *gathās* are ascribed to Hāla in the Nirṇayasāgar ed of the *Saptaśati*.

5. Twenty three verses are ascribed to Sātavāhana in the commentary of Pitāmbara (*Gathasaptaśatiprakāśikā*, ed by Pandit Jagdish Lal)

hana's work.[1] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has, however, expressed himself against the identification of this *Kosha* of Sātavāhana with the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla. 'That Hāla, the author of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* was a Sātavāhana', says he, 'is a mere tradition and must be set aside like all other traditions about ancient literati of India. Introductory verse 13 of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, no doubt, speaks of a Sātavāhana having composed a *Kosha* of songs, but there are no grounds to suppose that this *Kosha* is Hāla's *Saptaśatī* as has been well pointed out by Prof. Weber.'[2] Bhandarkar was led to question the authenticity of the tradition identifying Hāla with Sātavāhana and the former's *Gāthāsaptaśatī* with the latter's *Kosha*, because he found that the *Saptaśatī* contained several references such as that to Kṛishṇa and Rādhā and the mention of the week-day, which unmistakably point to a much later age.[3] I have discussed this problem elsewhere[4] and shown that the *Saptaśatī* had several interpolations made in it from time to time, We need not therefore on this ground question the correctness of the tradition which identifies the two authors and their works.

As a matter of fact, there is ample evidence to prove that the ancient name of this Prakrit anthology was *Kosha* or rather *Gāthākosha*. The following *gāthā* which concludes the work in some manuscripts refers to it as a *Kosha* of *gāthās* marked with the names of poets, which was compiled by Sālāhaṇa (i. e. Sātavāhana)—

एसो कइणामंकिअगाहापडिबद्धवड्ढिआमोओ ।
सत्तसअओ समत्तो सालाहणविरइओ कोसो ॥[5]

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1. In other verses also Bāṇa has woven the name of works while eulogising their authors. Cf. कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला । सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥

2. *R. G. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 188 f. It may be noted that Weber later on modified his opinion because of the mention of Sālāhaṇa in the concluding verse in some MSS. of the *Saptaśatī*. See his note to v. 709 (*Eso kaiṇāmaṁkia* etc.) in *Das Saptaśatakam des Hala*, p. 378.

3. *R. G. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 189.

4. See the next article.

5. एष कविनामाङ्कितगाथाप्रतिबद्धवर्धितामोदः । सप्तशतकः समाप्तः शातवाहन-

The same name, it seems, occurred in the concluding verses of some of the *gāthā śatakas* See, for instance, the following Sanskrit *chhāyās* of the final verses of the fifth and sixth *śatakas*, which occur in the recently published commentary of Pitāmbara—

(i) इह प्रथम समाप्यते गुरुल्लितपदवर्णसुन्दर सरसम् ।
गाथाशतं नराधिपशालिवाहननिर्मिते कोषे ॥[1]

(ii) षष्ठं शतं समाप्यते मनोहरालापरचनरमणीयम् ।
सातिशय सप्तशत्यां कोषे कविहृदयदयितायाम् ॥[2]

In both these verses the anthology is called *Kosha*[3] The Prakrit originals of these verses are, unfortunately, not given by Pitāmbara, but their existence in his days is vouched for by the Prakrit *pratīkas* cited by him[4]

An old manuscript (No 386 of 1887 89) deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, actually names the anthology as *Gāthākosha* It is again noteworthy that at least two old commentators viz, Baladeva, whose commentary occurs in the aforementioned MS of the Bhandarkar Institute[5], and Gangādhara, whose commentary is published in the Nirnayasāgar edition of the work,[6] refer to this anthology as *Gāthākosha* in the introductory portion of their respective commentaries

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विरचित कोष ॥ Weber Das *Saptaśatakam* etc, 377 See also *Gathasaptaśati* (Nirnayasāgar ed, 1911), p 207, n 3

1 *Gathasaptaśat prakāśikā* ed by Pandit Jagdish Lal, p 64

2 *Ibid* p 70

3 The second verse seems to refer to the work of Hala both as *Saptaśat* and *Kosha* In the absence of the original Prakrit *gātha* it is not possible to say whether the Sanskrit rendering *Saptaśatyām* is accurate The Original Prakrit word may have been *sattasae (saptaśatake)* qualifying *Kose* here as in many other *gathās* referring to Hala s work

4 See षष्ठगाथाशतान्तमाह—षट् सप्तमिति *Gāthāsaptaśat prakāśikā*, P 79

5 स्वर्गफला कीर्ति लब्धुमारब्धस्य गाथाकोषस्य निर्विघ्नपरिसमाप्तये...राजा शालिवाहन ...नमस्कारगाथामाह ।

I owe this extract from the unpublished commentary of Baladeva to the kindness of my friend Dr P K Gode Curator of the Bhandarkar Institute.

6 अथ तत्रभवान् प्राकृतकविकुमुदकुमुदिनीनायक शालिवाहनश्चिकीर्षितगाथाकोषस्याविघ्नपरिसमाप्तये कृत मङ्गल श्रोतृहितार्थमुपनिबध्नाति ।

The work seems to have been known by the name of *Kosha* or *Gāthākosha* to all early writers. Bāṇa's reference to it as *Kosha* has already been cited. Uddyotanasūri, the author of the Prakrit work *Kuvalayamālā*,[1] who flourished in A. D. 778, devotes two verses to the eulogy of Hāla—

भणियविलासवइत्तण चोक्किल्ले जो करेइ हलिए वि ।
कव्वेण किं पउत्ते हाले हालावियारे व्व ॥[2]
पणईहिं कइयणेण य भमरेहिं व जस्स जायपणएहिं ।
कमलायरो व्व कोसो विलुप्पमाणो वि हु ण झीणो ॥[3]

These two verses eulogise Hāla and his work. The first states that Hāla, by his graceful speech, refined even (rustic) farmers. The second verse refers to Hāla's work as *Kosha*. Several lovers and poets have drawn upon the *Kosha* (anthology) of Hāla; but, says *Uddyotanasūri, it has not been exhausted, even as* the contents of a cluster of lotuses are not lessened though numerous bees may drink of them. Abhinanda, the author of the *Rāmacharita*, also seems to refer to Hāla's work as *Kosha* in the following verse[4]—

नमः श्रीहारवर्षाय येन हालादनन्तरम् ।
स्वकोषः कविकोषाणामाविर्भावाय सम्भृतः ॥

In this verse Abhinanda, while eulogising his patron Hāravarsha, refers to Hāla as the author of a *Kosha*. By means of this anthology, says Abhinanda, Hāla gave publicity to the collections of verses of several poets. There were several liberal patrons *of literature who preceded Hāravarsha, but Abhinanda*

1. The *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri has not been published, but some verses from it, eulogising earlier Sanskrit poets, have been given by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal in his edition of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, Notes, p. 12, from which the following verses are quoted

2. भणितविलासवतीत्वेन संस्कृतान् यः करोति हालिकानपि ।
काव्येन किं प्रवृत्ते हाले हालाविकार इव ॥

3. प्रणयिभिः कविजनेन च भ्रमरैरिव यस्य जातप्रणयैः ।
कमलाकर इव कोषो विलुप्यमानोपि खलु न क्षीणः ॥

4. *Ramacharita* of Abhinanda, ed. by Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), chapters V, VIII, X and XII.

particularly refers to Hāla evidently because of the *double entendre* on *kosha* (viz a treasury and the name of Hāla's work)

Hāla's work was thus known by the name of *Kosha* down to the ninth century A D, when Abhinanda flourished [1] Some time after that date it seems to have acquired the name of *Saptaśatī* or *Gāthāsaptaśatī* Govardhana, who flourished in the twelfth century A D, named his work *Āryāsaptaśatī* evidently to distinguish it from the earlier work of Hāla, which had, by that time, come to be known as *Gāthāsaptaśatī* The reason for the change of the name of Hāla's anthology from *Kosha* to *Saptaśatī* is not far to seek *Kosha*, which originally signified an anthology of unconnected verses,[2] became later on current in the sense of a lexicon (See the names of Sanskrit lexicons such as *Amarakosha*, *Medinīkosha* etc) So none of the later anthologies such as *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya*, *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*, *Subhāshitāvali* etc include that word in their titles This was probably the reason why Hāla's work, which was also an anthology, dropped its original name *Kosha* or *Gāthākosha* and came to be known as *Saptaśati* or *Gathāsaptaśatī*

1 *Ibid*, Introduction p xxii

2. Cf कोश श्लोकसमूहस्तु स्यादन्योन्यानपेक्षक । *Sahityadarpa a* (Nirnayasagar ed) p 356

9. THE DATE OF THE GĀTHĀSAPTAŚATĪ*

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (also called *Saptaśatī* or *Sattasaī*) is unanimously regarded as the oldest and most important anthology in Mahārāshṭrī Prakrit. It is traditionally ascribed to Hāla, who, according to the account in the Purāṇas, seems to have flourished in the first century A.D. (see below). Some of the *gāthās* included in this work contain references to deities, historical and legendary characters and other matters. Their evidence is consequently cited to prove that these deities, persons etc. were well known before the beginning of the Christian era. To mention only one instance, the *gāthā*[1] No. 464 mentions Vikramāditya and refers to his munificence. This *gāthā* is often cited to prove the traditional view that a king named Vikramāditya flourished before the beginning of the Christian era and founded the era which is still current under his name.[2] The *gāthā* has also a bearing on the date of the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa who is popularly believed to have flourished at the court of Vikramāditya. Some other scholars, however, do not subscribe to the traditional view about the date of *Saptaśatī* and assign the work to the third century A.D. or some later age.[3] It is, therefore, proposed to discuss the question here in the light of recent researches.

As its name indicates, the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* consists of 700 *gāthās* or Prakrit verses. Tradition ascribes this work to Hāla, and this is corroborated by a *gāthā* (No. 3) included in this anthology which says that Hāla, who was beloved of poets,

**Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 300 f.

1. The numbers of *gāthās* quoted in this article refer to the Nirṇayasāgara ed. of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. They vary in the commentaries of Pītāmbara and Bhuvanapāla.

2. See, e. g., Haraprasad Shastri's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 320.

3. Weber: *Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, Intro p xxiii; Winternitz: *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, Vol. III, p. 103; Keith: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 224 etc.

selected seven hundred out of a crore of embellished *gāthās* Several Sanskrit and Prakrit poets[1] who have eulogised Hāla describe him as a king who had extended liberal patronage to poets The *Vajjalaggam* another Prakrit anthology, contains a *gāthā* which says that Hāla ruled at Pratishṭhāna (modern Paiṭhaṇ) on the Godāvarī[2], Hemachandra, the famous lexicographer, identifies Hāla with the king Sātavāhana or Salāhana[3]. Bāṇa also mentions Sātavāhana as the author of a Kosha of *subhāshitas* which must be none other than the *Gāthāsaptasatī* Sātavāhana was, however, a family name and occurs as such in two Nāsik cave inscriptions[4] It was plainly derived from that of the progenitor of the family, but nothing was known about this Sātavāhana till recently Only last year, a copper coin of this king was brought to light, which I am publishing in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* Hāla was called Sātavāhana, evidently because he was descended from this Sātavāhana This family is called Āndhra in the Purāṇas, probably because it was ruling in the Āndhra country when the Purāṇas assumed their present shape The Purāṇas give a list of thirty kings of this dynasty, among whom Hāla's name occurs as the seventeeth[5] According to the Purāṇas this dynasty ruled for a total period of 456 or 460 years It must have risen to power soon after the death of Aśoka *circa* 237 B C Śimuka the first king of this dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas, may have come to the throne in *circa* 225 B C The Purāṇas give the reign period of each king, according to which Hala had

1. See Abhinanda's *Ramacharita* Vol 93, XXII, 100 Uddyotanasūri's *Kuvalayamālā* (verses cited in the *Kāvyam mā hā*, ed [1916] by Dalal, notes p 12), Soḍḍhala *Udayasundarī* p 2 etc

2 *Vajjalaggam* v 468

3 Hemachandra *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* III, 876, *Desīnāmamālā*, VIII 66

4 Krishṇa, the second king mentioned in the Purāṇas is described as belonging to the Sātavāhana family Similarly Gautamīputra another illustrious king of this family who defeated Nahapāna is described as one who had established the fame of the Sātavāhana family See *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, pp 93, 61 f

5 Pargiter *Dynasties of the Kali Age* pp 38f

a brief reign of only five years. He may have ruled from A.D. 61 to A. D. 66. If he was the author of the *Saptaśatī*, the work must be referred to the first century A. D.

This date of the work has, however, been assailed on several grounds. Keith[1], drawing attention to the weakening of the consonants in the *gāthās* of the *Saptaśatī*, places it in the period A.D. 200-450. Weber[2] referred it to the 3rd century A.D. at the earliest, in any case to some period before the 7th century A. D. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the internal evidence afforded by the work shows that it could not have been composed in the first century A.D.; for it refers to Kṛishṇa and Rādhā in v. 89, mentions the week-day Tuesday in v. 261, and glorifies Vikramāditya in v. 464. All these references, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, point to a much later date than the first century A.D.; for the earliest mention of Rādhikā occurs in the *Pañchatantra* which was compiled in the 5th century A. D,; the earliest instance of the use of the week-day occurs in the Eraṇ inscription of Budhagupta, dated A. D. 484, but the practice of citing week-days did not come into general vogue till the 9th century A. D.; Vikramāditya whose liberality is eulogised in v. 464 must be either the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II or his grandson Skandagupta, both of whom are known to have assumed that title; for no earlier king of this name is known to history. In view of these references, Bhandarkar would refer Hāla of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* to the 6th century A. D.[3]

All these dates are more or less conjectural. They are based on the supposition that the anthology was compiled by a single person and that it has come down to us in its original form. Bhandarkar, who seems to have subscribed to this view, called in question the tradition that Hāla, the author of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, was a Sātavāhana. As for Bāṇa's eulogy of Sātavāhana who composed a *Kośa* of songs, Bhandarkar says that there

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p 224.
2. *Das Saptaśatakam etc.*, (1881), Intro., p. xxiii.
3. *R. C. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 189.

are no grounds for identifying this *Kośa* with Hāla's *Saptaśatī*[1] We need not, however, be so sceptic about this matter. There must have been some basis for the tradition which has been vouched for by several Sanskrit and Prakrit poets and lexicographers, viz that Hāla of the Sātavāhana dynasty was the author of the *Saptaśatī* As a matter of fact, the ancient name of this work was *Kośa* or *Gāthākośa* (Prākṛta, *Gāhākosa*) This appears clear from the concluding verse, preserved in some of the recensions, which describes it as a *Kośa* of seven hundered *gāthās* marked with the names of poets, which was compiled by Sātavāhana[2] Another verse in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotansūri, who flourished in the 8th century A D, also calls it *Kośa* and compares it with the *kośa* (bud) of a lotus[3] Uddyotansūri ascribes this *Kośa* to Hāla This will make it plain that the *Kośa* of *subhāṣitas* compiled by Sātavāhana and eulogised by Bāṇa was not different from the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla

We need not, however, suppose that all the verses now included in the several recensions of the *Saptaśatī* date from the time of Hāla There must have been interpolations in it from time to time This can be easily shown from the internal evidence of the work

The *Saptaśatī* has come down to us in as many as seven

1 *Ibid* pp 168 183

2 Weber *Das Saptaśatakam* etc, v 709 एसो कइणामङ्किअगाहापडि बद्धवड्ढिआमोओ । सत्तसअओ समत्तो सालाहणविरइओ कोसो ॥ (Skt एष कवि- नामाङ्कितगाथाप्रतिबद्धवर्धितामोद । सप्तशतक समाप्त सातवाहनविरचित कोश ॥) This verse is given in a f n at the end of p 207 of the Nirṇayasāgara ed (1911) of the *Saptaśatī* This work is also called *Kośa* in the concluding verse of some *śatakas* cited by Pītāmbara See pp 51 and 79 For a full discussion of this question see above, pp 70 f

3 See *Kuvalayamālā* as quoted by Dalal in the Notes (p 12) to Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* —पणईहिं कइयणेण य भमरेहिं व जस्स जायपणएहिं । भमरायरोव्व कोसो विलुप्पमाणो वि हु न झीणो (Skt = प्रणयिभि कविजनेन च भ्रमरैरिव यस्य जातप्रणयै । कमलाकर इव कोशो विलुप्यमाणोऽपि न खलु क्षीण ॥) This is said in praise of Hāla *Kośa* in Sanskrit means a treasure a bud of a flower as well as an anthology Bāṇa and Uddyotanasūri have used the word with a double *entendre* while describing the work of Hāla Sātavāhana

recensions as shown by Weber[1]. There are only 430 stanzas common to all the recensions which may have formed the original kernel of the work. *Tradition says that the gāthās* were composed by several poets, and that they were only collected and perhaps refashioned by Hāla. Originally, every stanza had the poet's name attached to it, but, in course of time, several names were lost owing perhaps to the carelessness of the scribes. As *many as thirteen commentaries on this anthology are still extant*, and many of them mention names of poets in connection with individual stanzas. Bhuvanapāla, one of the ancient commentators of the work, mentions as many as 384 names of poets who contributed to the *Saptaśatī*.

The *gāthās* of the *Saptaśatī* were composed in the Mahārāshṭrī Prākrit. Some of them contain references to the Vindhya mountain and the Revā, Tāpī and Godāvarī rivers. The Godāvarī is very frequently referred to, which is but natural as several poets must have been attached to the court of Hāla. No country, river or mountain of North India finds mention in any *gāthā*, which shows that the work had its origin in South India in general and Mahārāshṭra in particular.

According to tradition,[2] Pādalipta or Pālitta was the foremost among the poets at the court of Hāla and received liberal patronage from him. The *Saptaśatī* contains several *gāthās* ascribed to him. Many other poets were, however, living in the country; for their *gāthās* contain realistic pictures of village life. Most of these poets *must have been ordinary persons unknown* to fame. Some of them were women. The commentators mention the names of some of them such as Revā, Mādhavī, Anulakṣmī, Āndhralakṣmī etc[3]. Some of the poets were, however, distinguished personages who, though ruling over extensive kingdoms, were not loth to serve the Muse of poetry. A careful con-

1. *Das Saptaśatakam* etc., p. xxviii and *Indische Studien*, Vol. xvi, pp.0 f.

2. See verses cited in the Notes, p. 12, to Dalal's ed. of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.

3. See Index of *gāthās* in the Nirṇayasāgara ed. and that in *Ind. Stud.* Vol. XVI, pp. 10f.

sideration of the age in which they flourished is likely to shed interesting light on the date of the *Saptaśatī*

Hala .—The foremost of these royal poets was, of course, Hāla himself, the compiler of the anthology Nearly forty *gāthās* are ascribed to him in the Nirnayasāgara edition of the *Saptaśatī* Some of these are attributed to Śālavāhana in the recently published commentary of Pītāmbara[1] This is not surprising as Śālavāhana or Sālāhana was a Prakrit form of Sātavāhana, which, as we have seen, was the family name of Hāla Some of the verses ascribed by Pītāmbara to Śālavāhana are not, however, given under the name of Hāla by the Nirnayasāgara edition, but they may have been composed by him, for the tradition in respect of attribution of verses is discrepant.

Karṇa —Karna, another member of the Sātavāhana dynasty, seems to have contributed *gāthās* to the *Saptaśatī* Commentators ascribe two *gāthās*, viz 55 and 454, to Karna or Karnarāja That a king named Karna belonged to the Sātavāhana family and ruled in the Deccan is shown by some potin coins recently found at Tarhālā in the Akola District of Berar[2] These coins are of the same type and fabric as other Sātavāhana coins found there and in other places in Mahārāshṭra and have the legend *Kana sātakaṇisa* This Karna was one of the later kings of the dynasty and may be identical with Śāntikarna[3] (also called Chandaśri in the Purānas) who was the 12th descendant of Hāla. He may have reigned from *circa* A D 229 to 238

Pravarasena —The Nirṇayasāgara ed ascribes five verses, viz 45, 64, 202, 208 and 216, to Pravarasena, and Pitambara adds two more (vv 481 and 565) to them Further, Bhuvanapāla mentions Pravara, Pravararāja or Pravarasena as the author of the *gāthas* 126 146, 153 158, 203, 209, 321, 341, 506, 567 and 724 This Pravarasena is probably identical with the homo-

1 Jagdish Lal *Gāth saptaśat prakāśika* (1942)

2 See my article entitled A New Hoard of Sātavāhana coins from Tarhāla in *J N S I* Vol II pp 83f

3 Pargiter *Dynasties* etc , p 43 n. 20

nymous author of the Prakrit kāvya *Setubandha* or *Rāvaṇavaho*. This work has evoked high praise from several Sanskrit authors and rhetoricians such as Daṇḍin, Bāṇa and Ānandavardhana.[1] The author must, therefore, have flourished before the 7th century A.D. As stated before, he must have been a native of Mahārāshṭra. Tradition says that the *Setubandha* was actually composed by the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa and ascribed to Pravarasena by the order of Vikramāditya[2]. This tradition can be satisfactorily explained only if we identify this Pravarasena with Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty; for the latter was the *daughter's són of Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya*. Most scholars—Indian as well as European—now hold the view that Kālidāsa flourished at the court of the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II. It should not, therefore, be surprising if the poet was asked by his royal patron to compose or revise a work for his daughter's son, *Pravarsena II, who was ruling over* Vidarbha. This Pravarasena may have also composed *stray* Prakrit verses, some of which seem to have found a place in the *Saptaśati*. Pravarasena II flourished from *circa* A.D. 420 to 450.

Sarvasena :—Pitāmbara's commentary on the *Saptaśatī* ascribes *gāthās* 502 and 503 to Sarvasena. Bhuvanapāla mentions this poet's name in connection with two more *gāthās*, viz. *217* and *234*. This Sarvasena must be identical with the homonymous poet who has long been known as the author of a Prakrit kāvya called *Harivijaya*. This work also has received unstinted praise from several Sanskrit authors and rhetoricians[3]. Daṇḍin mentions in his *Avantisundarīkathā* that Sarvasena, the author of the *Harivijaya*[4], was *a king. Only one king of this* name is known to history, viz. he who was one of the younger sons of the great Vākāṭaka Emperor Pravarasena *I and founded* the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. His name has

1. See my article entitled 'Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age' in *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 193 f. See No. 11 below

2. See the statement of Rāmadāsa in his com. on *Setubandha*, I 1.

3. *Ind. Hist Quart.*, Vol XXI, pp. 197f See No. 11 below.

4. See *Avantisundarīkathā*, p. 2. [राज्ञा श्रीसर्वसेनन] • • • । • • • ।
विजयं हरेः ॥

been mentioned in the Basim plates[1] of his son Vindhyaśakti II, recently edited by me I have also shown that he is mentioned in the inscription[2] in Cave XVI at Ajantā Sarvasena flourished in *circa* A D 330 355

Pravarasena II and Sarvasena belonged to two different branches of the Vakataka family—one ruling at Nandivardhana near Nagpur and the other at Vatsagulma modern Basim in the Akola district of Berar There were two other branches of the great Vakataka family which, though referred to in the Purānas[3], are still in oblivion as none of their records have yet been found I have elsewhere[4] put forward the conjecture that they were ruling over Kuntala (now southern Maharashtra and Northern Karnataka), which lay to the south of the Godāvari, and Dakshina Kosala or Chhattisgardh, which lay to the east of Vidarbha The former seems to have flourished in Kuntala till the rise of the Early Rashtrakutas in *circa* A D 375 No members of these branches are yet known by name but since the the names of the princes of both the Nandivardhana and Vatsa gulma branches are found to end *invariably* in *sena*, the names of these other Vakataka rulers also may, in all probability, have ended in *sena* The commentators of *Saptasatī* mention several such names[5] viz Jayasena (v 170) Makarandasena (vv 6, 80, 98, 429 and 599) Mallasena (vv 237 and 238) Mahasena (v 328), Vasantasena (v 323) Viśvasena (v 340) and Satyasena (vv 233 and 298) It may not be wrong to conjecture that all these or at least some of them belonged to the other two branches of the Vakātaka dynasty which were ruling to the south of the Godavari and in Chhattisgadh

Māna —As stated before, the Vakataka branch in Kuntala

1 *Ep Ind* Vol XXVI pp 151f

2 Mirashi, *Vakātaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta* (Hyderabad Arch Series No 14) p 10

3 Pargiter *op c t* p 50

4 *Ind Cult* Vol XI p 233 *Ind Hist Quart* Vol XXI p 200

5 See Indexes to *gatha* in the Nirnayasagara ed of the *Saptasati* and in Bhuvanapala s Commentary *Ind Stud* Vol XVI, p 19

was wiped out in *circa* A. D. 375 by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, who rose to power there. The founder of this latter dynasty was Mānāṅka who founded the city of Mānapura (modern Māṇ in the Satara district of the Bombay State), which he made his capital[1]. It would seem, therefore, that this king was also known by the name of Māna or Mānarāja.[2] In that case the four verses 101-104, which some commentators[3] ascribe to Māna, may have been composed by him.

Devarāja :—Two copper-plate grants of this Early Rāshṭrakūṭa family mention Devarāja, the son of Mānāṅka. I have shown elsewhere[4] that this Devarāja was probably the Kuntaleśvara to whose court the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador by Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya. If the tradition recorded in the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* is correct, this Devarāja was a man of easy-going nature and spent his days in the company of beautiful ladies. He may, also, have been fond of literature and arts. He may be identical with the poet Devarāja to whom two *gāthās* of the *Saptaśatī* (viz. 138 and 239) have been ascribed. Whether this Devarāja composed any Prakrit *kāvya* is not known, but he seems to have composed a lexicon of Deśī words which has been cited in some places in Hemachandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*.[5] As I have shown elsewhere, this Devarāja must have flourished in *circa* A. D. 400-425.

Āḍhyarāja :—The name of this author has long been known from the praise lavished on him by Bāṇa in an introductory verse of his *Harshacharita*.[6] The tenor of description in Bāṇa's verse suggests that Āḍhyarāja wrote an Ākhyāyikā which was consider-

1. See my article : The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura, published in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 f.

2. In ancient times *aṅka* was optionally added to personal names. Compare Vimala or Vimalāṅka, the name of the author of *Paumachariya*.

3. Weber : *Saptaśatakam*, pp. 36 f.

4. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 45.

5. M. Banerjee : *Deśīnāmamālā*, p. xxxix.

6. *Harshacharita*, v. 18 : आढ्यराजकृतोत्साहैर्हृदयस्थैः स्मृतैरपि । जिह्वान्तः कृष्यमाणेव न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥

ed superb in Bana's age The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana* of Bhoja (11th century A D) gives the further information that in the time of Ādhyarāja every person spoke in Prakrit According to the commentator Ratneśvara, Ādhyarāja was identical with Śalivāhana, but the name is not met with in the list of Satavāhana kings given by the Puranas It is not known whether Bhoja had reliable tradition about Āḍhyarāja or whether he was misled by the name The suggestion that he was identical with Harsha is untenable Whoever Ādhyarāja may have been, there is no doubt that he was a Prakrit poet, for Bhuvanapala ascribes four *gāthas*, viz 66 169, 219 and 235 to him The Nirnaya sagara ed gives three more verses under his name, viz 26, 218 and 234 This seems to suggest that the ākhyāyika of Ādhyarāja, eulogised by Bana was in Prakrit We have, however, no further information about the country and the age in which he flourished

Vākpatirāja —The Nirnayasāgara ed of the *Saptaśatī* ascribes only one verse (95) to Vākpatirāja but Pitambara gives three more verses viz 616 617 and 618 under his name [1] Like Pravarasena and Sarvasena, Vakpatiraja also is famous as the author of Prakrit works Two *kāvyas* written in Maharashtri, namely *Madhumathanavijaya*[2] and *Gauḍavaho* were composed by him Of these, the first is not now extant, but it is mentioned by the well known critic Ānandavardhana[3] and one of its verses has been cited by Abhinavagupta[4] and Hemachandra[5] from which it seems that it treated of some incident in Krishna s life The other work *Gauḍavaho* is well known for its beautiful diction and graphic descriptions Vakpatiraja was a junior contemporary of Bhavabhuti, to whom he pays respectful homage in one[6] of his

1 Bhuvanapala ascribes v 32 also to him but this is given under the name of Bhogika by other Commentators

2 See *Gaudavaho* v 69

3 *Dhvanyaloka* (Nirnayasāgara ed 1911) p 152

4 *Loc cit*

5 See Hemachandra *Alankirachuḍamani* (ed by Rasik Lal), Vol I, p 81

6 *Gaudavaho* v 799

verses in the *Gaüḍavaho*. Like Bhavabhūti, he received patronage at the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, for whose glorification he has composed his Prakrit *kāvya*. We have no reliable information about the native province of Vākpatirāja; but in view of his association with Bhavabhūti, it may be conjectured that he also, like the latter, belonged to Vidarbha and went to far-off Kanauj to seek royal patronage; because in the beginning of the 8th century A. D., when these poets flourished, there was no great king ruling in Vidarbha. The aforementioned *gāthās* ascribed to Vākpatirāja do not occur in the *Gaüḍavaho*. It has, therefore, been conjectured that they must have been taken from his lost work *Madhumathanavijaya*.[1] The *gāthās* are, however, of the *muktaka or subhāṣita type and seem to have been stray verses,* not taken from any particular *kāvya*. Vākpatirāja, who was a court poet of Yaśovarman, probably flourished in the second quarter of the 8th century A. D.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Karṇa (*c.* A.D. 229-238), Sarvasena (*c.* A.D. 330-345), Pravarasena II (c. A.D. 420-455). Mānāṅka (*c.* A.D. 375-400), Devarāja (*c.* A.D. 400-425) and Vākpatirāja (*c.* A.D. 725-750) have all contributed their *gāthās* to the *Saptaśatī*. The work was thus receiving additions from time to time down to the 8th century A.D. As the *Saptaśatī* was only a collection of stray verses, it was quite easy to interpolate one or more verses into it. We cannot consequently adduce the evidence of any particular verse of the *Saptaśatī* for determining the limits for the date of any person or work unless we are sure about its existence in the anthology in a particular age.

Let us take the case of the oft-quoted verse (No. 463) which refers to the munificence of Vikramāditya. It runs as follows :—

संवाहणसुहरसतोसिएण देंतेण तुह करे लक्खं ।
चलणेण विक्कमाइच्चचरिअं अणुसिक्खिअं तिस्सा ॥

The verse, which is evidently addressed by a woman to her lover, and which refers to the latter's secret shampooing of

1. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 11.

another woman's foot, says: 'Her foot, which being delighted by your shampooing imprinted its lac dye marks on your hand, has imitated the action of Vikramāditya (who also being pleased with the victories of his men, places a lakh of coins on their hands)

This verse is given anonymously[1] in the Nirnayasāgara ed of the *Saptaśati*, but we can not be sure about its existence in the days of Hāla As no king of the name of Vikramaditya is known to have flourished before the first century A D[2], it is not unlikely that the *gāthā* refers to the liberality of a later Vikramaditya And curious as it may appear, there was a similar tradition about the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II–Vikramaditya which is recorded in an inscription of the Rashtrakūṭas The Sanjan plates of the Rashtrakūta king Amoghavarsha I contain the following verse[3] —

हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्देवा च दीनस्तथा
लक्ष कोटिमलेखयत्किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वय ।
येनात्याजि तनु स्वराज्यमसकृद् बाह्यार्थकै का कथा
ह्रीस्तस्योन्नतराष्ट्रकूटतिलको दातेति कीर्त्यामपि ॥

'That wretch of the Gupta lineage (viz Chandragupta II) who, having killed his own brother (Rāmagupta) usurped his kingdom and also his queen (Dhruvadevi) was they say, a (great) donor in (this) Kali age (because) he caused (his Bhandagarika) to record (donations of) or a lakh (or) a crore (In view of this) Amoghavarsha who sacrificed his body and (also) relinquished his kingdom more than once not to speak of other

1 Bhuvanapāla ascribes it to Samvararājya (? Saṁvararaja) about whom however, nothing is known (*Ind Stud* Vol XVI p 5)

2 It is now well known that the era now current under the name of Vikramaditya was called Krita down to the fifth century A D (*Ep Ind* Vol XXIII p 49) It is seen associated with the name of Vikramaditya for the first time in the tenth century A D the earliest record of this kind being the Ekalingji stone inscription of the Guhila prince Naravahana incised in V S 1028 (*J B B R A S*, Vol XXII pp 166f)

3 *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII, p 248

'How can I take any steps, being, like a simple deer, terrified by the roar of the lions, *viz.*, Pālittaya, Sālāhaṇa and Chhappaṇṇaya.'

This verse speaks of three poets Pālittaya, Sālāhaṇa[1] and Chhappaṇṇaya. Of these, Pālittaya was probably the same as Pādalipta or Śrīpālita who was a court poet of Hāla[2] and some of whose *gāthās* have been preserved in the *Sattasaī*[3]. Uddyotana also says that he was the most prominent member of Hāla's learned assembly[4]. The second poet Sālāhaṇa can also be easily identified. Sālāhaṇa is evidently the Prakrit form of Sātavāhana. That Sālāhaṇa was a king is known from the following *gāthā* in the *Sattasaī*—

> आवण्णाइं कुलाइं दो च्चिअ जाणंति उण्णइं णेदं ।
> गोरीअ हिअअदइओ अहवा सालाहणणरिन्दो ॥

Sātavāhana or Sālāhaṇa was, however, a family name as we learn from two inscriptions in the Nasik caves.[5] It therefore signified any members of the dynasty founded by Sātavāhana, even as Gupta denoted any members of the family descended from *Mahārāja* Gupta. That a king named Sātavāhana actually reigned is shown by two coins of his, with the legend *Raño siri Sādavāhanasa* which have recently been published, one by the present writer[6] and the other by Dr. M. G. Dikshit.[7] This family is called Āndhra in the Purāṇas probably because it was ruling in the Āndhradeśa when the Purāṇic account was first compilied. Sālāhaṇa can therefore refer to any of these

1. Dalal gives *Sāhalahana* which does not, however, suit the metre. See also the form of the name in the *gāthā* of the *Sattasaī* cited below.

2. Cf. हालेनोत्तमपूजया कविवृषः श्रीपालितो लालितः । Abhinanda's *Rāmacharita*, canto XXII, x, 100.

3. See e.g the *gāthās* 48, 56, 63 etc. in the *Sattasaī* (Nirṇayasāgar ed.)

4. See निम्मलगुणेण गुणगुरुयएण परमत्थरयणसारेण ।
   पालित्तयेण हालो हारेण व सहइ गोट्ठीसु ॥

5. *Ep. Ind*, Vol VIII, pp. 60 f. ; 93.
6. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 1 f.
7. *Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 141-42,

so-called Andhra kings, but in this case it probably signifies Hāla, who compiled the anthology *Sattasaī* and several of whose verses have been included in it It is noteworthy that Uddyotanasūri devotes the following two verses to the eulogy of Hāla and his anthology which, as I have shown elsewhere, bore at first the name of *Kośa* or *Gāthākośa*—

भणियविलासवइत्तण चोक्कल्ले जो करेइ हलिएवि ।
कव्वेण किं पउत्थे हाले हालावियारेव्व ॥
पणईहिं कइयणेण य भमरेहिं जस्स जायपणएहिं ।
कमलायरोव्व कोसो विलुप्पमाणो वि हु ण झीणो ॥

Pālittaya and Salabhana, two of the poets mentioned in the verse from *Kuvalayamala* cited above, can thus be satisfactorily identified But nothing is so far known about the third poet Chhappannaya The *Kuvalayamālā* contains, however, the following eulogistic verse about him—

छप्पन्नयाण किं वा भण्णइ कयकुजराण भुवणंमि ।
अन्नो वि छेयभणिओ अज्ज वि उवमिज्जए जेहिं ॥

'What need be said about Chhappannayas, the eminent poets, with whom even now a poet of clever sayings is compared in this world !

The first thing that strikes us in this eulogy is that Uddyotana has used the plural number in praising Chhappannaya That this is not for the purpose of showing respect to the poet is shown by other verses in which Uddyotana has used the singular while eulogising such great poets as Palittaya, Hala, Baṇa, Devagupta, nay, his own teacher Haribhadra Was Chhappannaya then a group of poets ? The name appears very queer, signifying as it does the number fifty six Is it likely that these fifty-six poets formed a *Kavi mandala* and published a work under their collective name ?

The *Avantisundarīkathā* throws interesting light on this question This work was discovered only recently and has been published by Mr Ramakrishna Kavi in the Dakshiṇa

external things, feels ashamed when his fame spreads that he, the ornament of the exalted Rāshṭrakūṭas, is a donor'.[1]

In this verse Amoghavarsha I, who had cut off and offered a finger of his left-hand to Mahālakshmī[2] to avert a public calamity and abdicated the throne more than once in order to devote himself to religious practices[3], is said to excel the Gupta king Chandragupta II in righteousness and liberality; for Chandragupta II had caused the murder of his own brother Rāmagupta and remarried his wife Dhruvadevī. Further, he did not actually confer gifts of a lakh or a crore, but only caused them to be recorded to make a show of his liberality. We are not concerned here with the correctness of the statements of *Amoghavarsha's panegyrist about Chandragupta's liberality*, but the description clearly shows that stories about the fabulous munificence of Chandragupta II–Vikramāditya were current among the people as late as the 9th century A.D. A similar tradition about Barkamaris (Vikramāditya) has also been recorded by the Muslim author of *Majm-ul-tavārikh*,[4] which also may refer to the liberality of the same Gupta king. And it is not surprising that such a *gāthā* should have been composed in Vidarbha about Chandragupta II, and should have found a place in the anthology of Mahārāshṭra; for the influence of that illustrious and mighty Gupta Emperor was very great at the courts of both the Vākāṭakas and the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas[5], who ruled to the north and the south of the Godāvarī, where the *gāthās* of the *Saptaśatī* were mainly composed. The *gāthā*, therefore, in no way goes against, but rather corroborates the view that Vikramāditya and his protege Kālidāsa flourished in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D.

1. It will be noticed that the translation given here differs in many places from that given by D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 255.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XVIII, p. 248

3. Altekar: *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their times*, pp. 88f.

4. Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol I.

5. Mirashi: The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura, *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36f. See below, No. 19. The verses 227 and 439 which Bhuvanapāla ascribes to Vikrama and Vikramāditya respectively, may have been composed by Chandragupta II–Vikramāditya.

10. SOME ANCIENT PRAKRIT POETS*

The early centuries of the Christian era were very prolific in the composition of Prakrit poetry. Verse 3 of the *Sattasaī* states that Hāla, who compiled that anthology, selected seven hundred out of a crore of embellished *gāthās* That this is not an exaggerated statement is shown by the innumerable *gāthās* cited as illustrations in later Sanskrit rhetorical works [1] The names of the authors of some of these verses have been preserved in the extant commentaries of the *Sattasaī*[2]. They show that these poets belonged to all ranks of the society from the king to the peasant and that women vied with men in the composition of popular *gāthās* Unfortunately, very few anthologies of Prakrit verses have come down to us and consequently the names of several Prakrit poets as well as their works are irretrievably lost Some early Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvyas* contained verses in praise of these poets, but few of these *kāvyas* also have survived the ravages of time and fewer still have been published. It is proposed to collect information about some of these Prakrit poets in the present article

The *Kuvalayamālā*[3] of Uddyotanasūri (A D 778) is an early Prakrit *Champu-kāvya* which is still unpublished Some extracts from it, eulogising earlier Prakrit poets, were published by Mr. C D Dalal in his edition of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāmsā* One of these is as follows—

पालित्तयसालाहणछप्पण्णयसीहनायसद्देण । सखुद्धमुद्धसारंग उव्व कह ता पय देमि ॥

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* *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol X pp 42 f

1 Weber collected a thousand *gāthās* in his edition of the *Sattasaī* Mr Rangaswami Sarasvati states that if all the *gāthās* in the different editions are collected, their number would exceed two thousand See *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Chapters XXII—XXIV Introd., p vi

2 See the Index of *gāthās* in the Nirṇayasāgar ed of the *Sattasaī* and the com of Pītāmbara recently published by Jagdish Lal

3 The work was completed in Śaka 699 (A. D 778) *Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference* p cxxv

bhāratī Series., It is unfortunately fragmentary. Many of its leaves, again, were worm eaten and so there are several lacunae in the extant portion. But even in its present unsatisfactory state it gives some very valuable information about early Sanskrit and Prakrit poets which cannot be gleaned from anywhere else. Recently I showed from one of its fragmentary verses that Sarvasena, the author of the Prakrit *kāvya Hari-vijaya*, was a king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, who ruled at Vatsagulma[1]. The *Avantisundarīkathā* gives the following verse in its introductory portion eulogising early Sanskrit and Prakrit poets—

सेतुरूपेण तिष्ठन्तो लोके तद्वस्तुदर्शिनः ।
षट्पञ्चाशत्प्रमाणत्वं गता नः कविपुङ्गवाः ॥

Curious as it might appear, here also we get a verse in praise of fifty-six poets. They are called *kavi-puṅgava* 'eminent poets'. They had an insight into the real nature of things and attained the position of authority in their own sphere. Another piece of interesting information that this verse gives us is that these poets, though dead, continued to live in this world in the form of *Setu*. The most obvious interpretation of this statement is that *Setu* was the name of their work which was quite well-known in the time of Daṇḍin.

Setu is well known as the abridged form of *Setubandha*, the name of a Prakrit *kāvya* in fifteen cantos ascribed to Pravarasena. This work is called *Rāvaṇavaha* in its concluding verse[2] (XV, 98) and *Dahamuhavaha* in the colophons[3] of its different *āśvāsas*. But that it had the alternative name of *Setubandha* is known from another work of Daṇḍin himself viz. *Kāvyādarśa*.[4] The abridged name *Setu* of this *kāvya* has

1. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 193 f.

2. एत्थ समप्पइ एअं सीआलम्भेण जनिअरामब्भुअअम् ।
रावणवह त्ति कव्वं अणुराअङ्कं समत्थजणाणिव्वेसम् ॥

3. इअ सिरिपवरसेणविरइए कालिदासकए दहमुहवहे महाकव्वे etc.

4. *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 34.

been mentioned by Bāṇa[1] who uses it for *double entendre* in one of the introductory verses of his *Harshacharita* Ānandavardhana, the well known critic of the 9th century A D, also refers to it as *Setu*[2]

Is the *Setubandha* then the joint work of these fifty six poets? Tradition ascribes this work to Pravarasena That he was a king is shown by the following verse in that *kāvya* which states that he undertook to compose it soon after he came to the throne—

अहिणवराआरद्धा चुक्कक्खलिएसु विहडिअपरिट्ठविआ ।
मेत्ति व्व पमुहरसिआ णिव्वोढुं होइ दुक्करं कव्वकहा ॥

This Pravarasena was previously identified with a king of that name who ruled in Kashmir The only basis for this identification was the statement of Kalhana that the king built a bridge of boats across the Vitastā (Jhelum)[3] Kalhana does not, however, state that the construction of the bridge was commemorated by the composition of this *kāvya* Besides, this *kāvya* was composed in the Mahārāshṭrī, which has not been shown to have been current in Kashmir in that period It is therefore better to identify this king with Pravarasena II of the Vakataka dynasty, who was ruling over Vidarbha in the fifth century A D A tradition recorded by the commentator Rāmadāsa states that the work was actually composed by Kalidāsa, who ascribed it to Pravarasena by the order of Vikramāditya This tradition can be satisfactorily explained on the basis of the above identification, for Pravarasena II was the daughter's son of the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II, who is known to have assumed the title *Vikramāditya* That the Prakrit *kāvya* was composed at the court of the Vākaṭakas is shown by other evidence also I have recently shown that the *Harivijaya*, which, like the *Setubandha*,

1 कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥

2 यथा मायारामशिरोदर्शनविह्वलायां सीतादेव्यां सेतौ । P 87

3 *Rajataraṅgiṇī* Taranga III, v 354

was a Prakrit *Mahākāvya*, was composed by Sarvasena, the founder of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

Have we then here another tradition that the *Setubandha* was actually composed by fifty-six poets, though it was ascribed by them to Pravarasena? *Prima facie* this view appears quite plausible. There is no other work named *Setu* except this one ascribed to Pravarasena. That the author of the *Avantisundarīkathā* knew of the *Setubandha* is also clear from a passage in that work where the word is used with a *double entendre*.[1] The poets and works eulogised in the introductory verses of this prose romance appear to have been mentioned in the chronological order, judging by our present knowledge of the history of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. The verse mentioning this *Setu* occurs immediately after that describing Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* and before another eulogising Kālidāsa. This is just the choronological position of Pravarasena, the author of the *Setubandha*, who, as shown above, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa. It may therefore be supposed that the *Setubandha* was actually composed by fifty-six poets, who fathered it upon the king Pravarasena.

The nature of the *Setubandha* does not, however, show that this view is likely to be correct. The work is a Prakrit *kāvya* of the same type as *Kumārasambhava*, *Kirātārjunīya* or *Śiśupālavadha*. Its several cantos have a unity of purpose and a uniformity of style such as one can hardly expect in a heterogeneous work composed by as many as fifty-six poets. Besides, none of the later writers who have referred to it even hint that it was a compilation of verses composed by several poets. There must therefore have been another work of the name *Setu* which was of the type of an anthology. This is also suggested by the Uddyotanasūri. He says that the fifty-six poets were famous for clever sayings (*chhekabhaṇita*) so much so that they became the standards of comparison for later poets. Their verses were probably of the same type as Sanskrit *subhāshitas*, in which by means of a few strokes they depicted an interesting situation.

1. Cf. जलाशयाः सेतुबन्धलमाश्च । p. 11.

It is not unlikely that there was such an anthology compiled in the Vākāṭaka age Several princes of the Vākāṭaka dynasty are known to have composed Prakrit *gāthās* which were later on interpolated into the *Gāthāsaptaśati* Sarvasena and Pravarasena, for instance, whom we know as the authors of Prakrit *kāvyas*, are credited with the composition of several *gathās* in the commentaries of Pitāmbara and Bhuvanapāla[1] Several other poets not known to history whose *gāthās* are included in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* must have flourished in the same age It should therefore cause no surprise if a compilation of such *gathās* was made in that age under the name of *Setu* The anthology seems to have become current as the work of fifty six poets who contributed to it, and by its excellence became the standard by which the work of subsequent poets was judged When the anthology went out of vogue in later times, some of its verses appear to have been incorporated into the earlier anthology of Hala This appears to be the only satisfactory explanation of the statements of Dandin and Uddyotanasūri regarding the fifty six poets and their work *Setu*

1 More than a dozen verses are ascribed to Pravarasena by Bhuvanapāla and Pitāmbara They attribute four verses to Sarvasena

II. SOME ROYAL POETS OF THE VĀKĀṬAKA AGE*

It is well known that in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. Sanskrit literature prospered as it had never done before. This was no doubt mainly due to the liberal patronage which the Gupta kings extended to Sanskrit authors at their court. Some of those kings were themselves poets of no mean order. From the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Harisheṇa we learn that the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta had obtained the title of *Kavirāja*, 'King of poets', by his several poetical compositions which even learned men found fit to draw upon.[1] His son Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya was probably the author of several *subhāshitas* current under the name of *Vikramāditya*, collected in some Sanskrit anthologies.[2] According to a tradition recorded by Rājaśekhara, he submitted himself to a test in the assembly of learned men at Ujjayinī.[3] When the kings themselves took such active interest in poetry, it is no wonder that their officers and subjects also did likewise.[4] Some of the officers of the Guptas are known to have been poets. Besides Harisheṇa, the famous author of the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta, who held the high offices of *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* during the reign of Samudragupta, we know of Śāba of the Kautsa family, who also was *Sāndhivigrahika* and accompanied the Emperor Chandragupta II during his *digvijaya*. He is described as a poet of Pāṭaliputra in the Udayagiri cave inscription.[5] Several other princes and officers must have similarly distinguished themselves in that age by their practice of the poetic art.

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* *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol XXI, pp. 193 f

1. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8. Fleet's translation of *vidvaj janopajīvy-āneka kāvya kriyābhiḥ* as 'by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned men' does not appear to be correct.

2. *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya* ed by F. W. Thomas, Intro., pp. 150 f.

3. Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1st ed.), pp. 105 f.

4. Cf. राजनि कवौ सर्वो लोकः कविः स्यात् *Ibid.*, p. 54.

5. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 35.

This state of things was not confined to the North In the South also, poetry as well as other fine arts flourished at the Vakataka court The Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II is the reputed author of the Prakrit *kāvya Setubandha* or *Rāvanavaha* According to some scholars this Pravarasena was Pravarasena II of Kashmir and the *kavya* was composed to commemorate a bridge of boats constructed across the river Vitasta[1] This theory is however untenable, for the *Rajatarangini* which mentions the construction of the bridge makes no reference to this *kāvya*[2] Ramadasa, a commentator of that work, has on the other hand, recorded the tradition that the *kavya* was actually composed by Kalidasa, who ascribed it to Pravarasena by the order of Vikramaditya This tradition can be satisfactorily explained only if this Pravarasena is identified with Pravarasena II of the Vākataka dynasty, for the latter was the daughter s son of Chandragupta II—Vikramaditya We know that the famous Sanskrit poet Kalidasa was patronised by Chandragupta II and he composed his *Meghaduta* at Rāmagiri which is undoubtedly modern Ramtek near Nagpur, about three miles from the then Vakataka capital Nandivardhana[3] It is therefore not unlikely that Kalidasa helped his patron s daughter s son Pravarasena II in composing this *kāvya* during his sojourn in Vidarbha This also explains the tradition preserved by Ramadasa, that Pravarasena was called Bhojadeva[4], for Bhoja was the name of the ancient dynasty of Vidarbha

The *Setubandha* is highly praised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians Dandin, the famous author of the *Kāvyādarsa*, calls it 'a mine of gems in the form of good sayings'[5] Bāna says in his *Harshacharita* that by means of the *Setu* (i e *Setubandha*) the fame of Pravarasena crossed the ocean as the army of monkeys had done before by means of the bridge (of Rāma)[6] Ānandavar

1 Macdonell *History of Sanskrit Literature* pp 331 3? Keith *History of Sanskrit Literature* pp 132 f

2 *Rajatarangini* III 351

3 See No 2 above

4 *Setubandha* I 9

5 *Kavyadarśa* I 34

6 *Harshacharita*, I 14

dhana, the famous critic of the ninth century A. D., bestows high praise on the section of the *kārya* which describes how Sitā was overwhelmed by grief at the sight of the illusory head of Rāma.[1]

Pravarasena II wrote, besides this *kārya*, stray Prakrit verses, some of which are collected in the well-known Prakrit anthology *Sattasaī* (*Gāthāsaptaśatī*). According to the commentary of Gaṅgādhara, Pravarasena was the author of the three verses 64, 202, and 208.[2] The recently published commentary of Pitāmbara ascribes two more *gāthās*, viz., 481 and 565, to the royal author.[3] The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* was undoubtedly composed in South India, for many of its verses refer to the Godāvarī river and the Vindhya mountain.[4] It is traditionally ascribed to the Sātavāhana king Hāla, but as Weber pointed out long ago, the work has come down to us in six or seven recensions. Only 430 verses are common to all recensions and they may have been the original kernel of the anthology.[5] Several additions may have been made to it from time to time. It should not therefore cause any surprise if it is found to contain some verses of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II who flourished about 350 years after Hāla, the reputed author of the anthology.[6]

Pravarasena II is the only Vākāṭaka king known so far who is credited with poetic composition. He belonged to the eldest branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, which ruled first from Nandi-

1. *Dhvanyāloka* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1911), p. 148. Ānandavardhana says that the figures of sense (arthālaṅkāras) vied with one another in pressing themselves on the attention of Pravarasena while his mind was engrossed in describing the pathetic scene.

2. See the Index to the *gāthās* in the *Sattasaī* (Nirṇayasāgara ed., 1911) pp. 1 f.

3 See *Gāthāsaptaśatīprakāśikā* (*Sattasaī* with the com. of Pitāmbara) ed. by Prof. Jagdish Lal, pp. 50 and 61. The numbers of the *gāthās* cited in this article are according to the Nirṇayasāgara ed. of the *Sattasaī*. Pitāmbara numbers these verses as 493 and 566.

4. The *Vajjālagga* also states that Hāla was ruling at Pratiṣhṭhāna in the Godāvarī valley. See v. 468.

5. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, p 130.

6 V. Smith places Hāla in *circa* A.D. 60 (*Early History of India*, 1914), pp 216 f. Pravarasena II flourished about A.D. 400.

vardhana[1] and subsequently from Pravarapura[2] and Padmapura.[3] Pravarasena II's elder brother was Divākarasena, who came to the throne while still a boy owing to the early death of his father Rudrasena II and who is therefore mentioned as *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, his mother, who was acting as Regent.[4] The *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa (II,31,4) cites a Sanskrit *subhāshita* of Yuvarāja Divākara who may be identical with the Vākāṭaka boy-prince Divākarasena as suggested by Dr. D. C. Sircar.[5] The same anthology contains other verses ascribed to Pravarasena, evidently the second Vākāṭaka prince of that name.

Both Pravarasena II and Divākarasena were decended from Gautamīputra, the eldest son of the *Samrāṭ* Pravarasena I. The Purāṇas tell us that Pravīra, the son of Vindhyaśakti, who is plainly identical with Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakti I, the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, had four sons, all of whom ruled after him.[6] It seems therefore that the extensive empire of Pravarasena I was divided among his sons after his death. The eldest branch established itself at Nandivardhana and ruled over Northern Vidarbha. The second son Sarvasena founded a separate principality which he ruled from Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola District. The name of this prince as well as of his son Vindhyaśakti II came to light only recently when the Bāsim plates were discovered.[7] These names have subsequently been read in an inscription in cave XVI at Ajantā[8]

One Sarvasena has long been known as the author of a *kāvya* named *Harivijaya* referred to in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*.[9]. Ānandavardhana states that Sarvasena had

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1 *Ep Ind*, vol XXVI, p 169. 2 *Ibid*, vol XXIII, p 85

3 *Ibid*, vol XXII, p 213 4 *Ibid*, vol XV, p 41.

5 *Ind Cul*, vol VI, p 478

6 Pargitar, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 60.

7 *Ep Ind*, vol XXVI, p. 151.

8 Mirashi, *Vakataka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta* (Hyderabad Arch. Series, No 14).

9 *Dhvanyāloka* pp. 128, 148. See Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol I, p 793. Aufrecht mentions another work *Yaśodharacharitra of* Sarvasena on

altered the original story and introduced some imaginary incidents in it in order to make it suitable for the delineation of the intended sentiment.[1] Ānandavardhana does not state what the story was, but here his commentator Abhinavagupta comes to our help. He states that the *Harivijaya* had for its theme the removal of the Pārijāta tree from heaven which was done by Krishṇa for the appeasement of his wife (evidently Satyabhāmā).[2] Elsewhere, Ānandavardhana cites a Prakrit verse from the *Harivijaya* which must have been identical with this work of Sarvasena.[3] This further shows that the work was written in the Mahārāshṭrī dialect. Some other Prakrit verses in the *Dhvanyāloka* seem to have been taken from the same work though this has not been explicitly stated by Ānandavardhana. For instance, the verse *sajjei surahi-māso* etc. which he has cited in more than one place as descriptive of the vernal season is also probably taken from the *Harivijaya*.[4]

The next writer who mentions Sarvasena is Kuntaka, the famous author of the *Vakroktijīvita*. He classes Sarvasena with Kālidāsa among writers of the *sukumāra mārga* (elegant style).[5] Bhoja, the author of the *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, cites two Prakrit verses which from their contents appear to have been taken

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the authority of Bhandarkar's *Fourth Report*, No 807, but the correct name of the author is Vāsavasena, not Sarvasena. See Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa*, p. 320.

1 As the *Kāvya* has not come down to us, it is not possible to specify the incidents, but one of them may have been the sending of Sātyaki to Indra as a *nisrishṭārtha dūta* i. e. a Commissioner with full powers of negotiation. See below, p 102.

2 Cf. हरिविजये कान्तानुनयाङ्गत्वेन पारिजातहरणादिनिरूपितमितिहासेष्वदृष्टमपि। p 148.

3 *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 127.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 236. This verse, like that on p. 127, is also descriptive of spring, and as shown below, the *Harivijaya* did contain a description of that season.

5 Cf. सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते। *Vakroktijīvita*, ed. by S. K. De (second ed.), p. 71.

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from the *Harivijaya*.[1] The first of these states why Satyabhāmā alone in the midst of all other wives of Kṛishṇa got enraged by humiliation (when the Pārijāta flowers obtained from heaven were presented by Kṛishṇa to Rukmiṇī). The second verse seems to have been addressed by Kṛishṇa to Satyabhāmā. Says he, 'If I had appeased you who had become enraged by (the presentation of) flowers (to Rukmiṇī), by presenting the same flowers to you, it would not have been in keeping with either my love for you or my offence against you. (Hence I am presenting you with the Pārijāta tree itself)'. In his other work *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* Bhoja cites several verses from the *Harivijaya*. In the *prakāśas* XXII-XXIV which were published in 1926, as many as six verses have been quoted from that *kāvya* as stated by the editor in the Index of the Prakrit verses of those chapters. Several more verses must have been cited in the other chapters which still remain unpublished.

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Hemachandra, the Jain polymath, has referred to the *Harivijaya* in several places in his *vṛitti* on the *Alaṅkārachūḍāmaṇi* which give us several bits of interesting information. For instance he tells us that like the *Setubandha*, the *Harivijaya* was throughout written in one metre (viz. *skandhaka*) and that the verses in the *galitaka* metre found therein were later interpolations.[2]

1. *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Nirṇayasāgara ed, 1934), pp 647 and 655. Anandaram Borooah, the editor of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, thought that these verses were taken from a poem named *Satyabhāmāsaṃvāda* or a similar poem on the same subject But Pischel conjectured that they might have been taken from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* or Vākpatirāja's *Madhumathanavijaya*. (See *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p 12). What the theme of the latter *kāvya* was is not definitely known. From the *Dhanyāloka*, p. 152, and Abhinavagupta's comments thereon, it appears to have been some incident in Kṛishṇa's life leading to his separation from Rukmiṇī. There is no clear indication that it had anything to do with Satyabhāmā. The verses were therefore probably taken from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* This conjecture receives confirmation from Bhoja's *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*, which specifically refers the verse *Kuvia a Sachchahama* etc, to Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*. (See *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*, Chs XXII-XXIV, ed by Yatirajasvamin, Index of Prakrit verses, p. xvii.) See Hemachandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* ed by Rasik Lal

2 रावणविजयहरिविजयसेतुबन्धादिष्वादितः समाप्तिपर्यन्तमेकमेव छन्दो भवतीति। गलितकानि तु तत्र कैश्चिद् विदग्धमानिभिः क्षिप्तानीति तद्विदो भाषन्ते। pp 461 f.

The last verse of each canto contained the word *utsāha* even as that in the *āśvāsas* of the *Setubandha* contains *anurāga*.[1] Its theme, as stated above, was the forcible removal of the Pārijāta tree by subduing Indra, the lord of heaven, for the appeasement of Satyabhāmā.[2] It seems that Krishṇa had first sent Sātyaki to Indra as a *nisṛishṭārtha dūta* i.e., as a Commissioner invested with full powers of negotiation.[3] Like other *mahākāvyas* it contained a description of the city (Dvārakā),[4] the hero[5] (Krishṇa), the season spring,[6] sunset,[7] horses, elephants, etc.,[8] drinking parties[9] and so forth. Ultimately, Krishṇa invaded heaven, vanquished Indra and forced him to part with the celestial tree, Pārijāta, which he presented to Satyabhāmā to appease her anger.

That this Sarvasena, the author of the *Harivijaya*, was a *king* is known from a mutilated verse in the recently discovered *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍin.[10] The order in which the several authors are eulogised in the introductory verses of this prose romance seems to be chronological. In these verses Sarvasena, the author of the *Harivijaya*, is mentioned *after* Bhāsa and *before* the author (or authors) of the *Setu* and Kālidāsa. As shown below, this is also the chronological position of the king Sarvasena.

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1. उत्साहः सर्वसेनस्य । p 457.
2. प्रयाणं···अभिमतार्थस्य सिद्धये यथा विष्णोः पारिजाताहरणाय हरिविजये ।
3. निसृष्टार्थे यथा ··हरिविजये वा सात्यकिः । p. 458
4. नगरवर्णनं हरिविजय···कुमारसम्भवादौ । *loc. cit.*
5. नायकवर्णनं हरिविजय·· रघुवंशादौ । *loc. cit.*
6. तत्र ऋतुवर्णनं शरद्वसन्तग्रीष्मवर्षादिवर्णनानि सेतुबन्धहरिविजयरघुवंशहरिवंशादौ । *loc. cit.*
7. अर्कास्तमयवर्णनं कुमारसम्भवहरिविजयरावणविजयसेतुबन्धादौ । *loc. cit.*
8. वाहनवर्णनेत्यादिना हस्त्यश्वगरत्मत्पुष्पकादिवर्णनानि हरिविजयरावणविजयादौ । *loc. cit.*
9. मधुपानं द्विधा गोष्ठीगृहे धासभवने च । तत्राद्यं हरिविजये शिशुपालवधे च । *loc cit.*
10. राज्ञा श्रीसर्वसेने[न] · · · · · · ।
· · · · · · · · विजयं हरेः ॥ *Avantisundarīkathā*, p. 2.

History knows of only one king of this name viz the Vakātaka king Sarvasena, son of Pravarasena I, who founded the Vatsagulma branch of the Vakātaka dynasty and flourished in *circa* A D 330 355. He must therefore have been the author of this *kavya*

The *Harivijaya* is perhaps the earliest Prakrit *kāvya* known so far,[1] for Sarvasena flourished four generations earlier than Pravarsena II, the author, of the *Setubandha* It fully conformed to the norm of the *Mahakavya* and seems to have served as a model for the Sanskrit and Prakrit *kavyas* of Kālidasa and Pravarsena II who flourished in a later age

The *Harivijaya* seems to have been current in India down to the twelfth century A D , for Dandin (7th cent), Ānandavardhana (9th cent), Kuntaka (10th cent) Bhoja (11th cent), Abhinavagupta (11th cent) and Hemachandra (12th cent) either refer to Sarvasena or his work by name or cite verses and refer to incidents in that *kāvya* I have not seen references to it in later works From the inquires made of Dr Raghavan and Mr P K Gode, I learn that no manuscripts of it exist in the Madras and Poona collections It was therefore an agreeable surprise to me when I found that a manuscript of it was listed by R B Hiralal in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts in C P and Berar* and that the work was reported to exist in the collections of manuscripts in the possession of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur,[2] which happens to be at present my place of residence also I therefore eagerly sought permission of the Senior and Junior Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur[3] to search for this manuscript in their collections, which they readily granted To my great disappoint

1 The *Paumachariya* of Vimalasuri was according to a statement in that work composed in the year 530 after the *Nirvāna* of Mahavira i e in A D 4 but this date is regared as doubtful Prof Jacobi places the *kāvya* in the third century A D or somewhat later

2 See his *Catalogue*, No 6864, p 613 In the Introduction, p 10, R B Hiralal draws attention to the importance of this work and says that by means of *double entendre* it described the victory of Hari and also directed the movements in chess play

ment, I found, however, that the work listed by Hiralal as of Sarvasena is only the Marathi poetical work of Śrīdhara who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. R. B. Hiralal does not seem to have seen the manuscript himself. As in several other cases, he appears to have obtained the name of this manuscript from the Pandit employed by him to inspect and report about the manuscripts in the Bhonsla collections. Thinking it to be a Sanskrit work he seems to have ascribed it to Sarvasena with the help of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.[1] I cannot however account for R. B. Hiralal's statement in the Introduction (p. lv) to his *Catalogue* that the work has *double entendre* describing the victory of Hari, while the same text directs the movement in chess-play. Nearly a dozen Prakrit verses from the *Harivijaya* are cited in the *Dhvanyāloka* and other works as shown above, but none of them seems to contain any such *double entendre*, apart from the improbability of an early *kāvya* like it containing such artificiality. Let us hope that the information about this *kāvya* collected in the present article will lead to its discovery at some future date.

Like Pravarasena II, Sarvasena also seems to have composed some Prakrit *gāthās*. Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa whose commentary has been published in the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the *Sattasaī* does not name Sarvasena among the known authors of the *gāthās*, but as Weber has shown, another commentator Bhuvanapāla ascribes two verses viz. 217 and 234 to him.[2] Pītāmbara, a third commentator whose commentary on the *gāthās* has been published recently, mentions Sarvasena's name in connection with two more verses viz. 504 and 505. The attribution of these *gāthās* to Sarvasena furnishes additional evidence for the identification of that author with the homonymous king who ruled over southern Vidarbha.

1. That the work did not exist even earlier in the Collections of the Bhonsla Rajas is shown by the fact that it does not find mention in the earlier *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Central Provinces* edited by Dr. Kielhorn and published in 1874. No MSS. have been added to the collections of the Bhonslas since that time. Kielhorn's *Catalogue* mentions some Prakrit as well as Sanskrit works.

2. These numbers refer to the edition of the *Sattasai* of Hāla by Weber (1818).

During the reign of Sarvasena and his successors Vatsagulma appears to have become a centre of learning and the Prakrit *kāvyas* and *subhāshitas* composed there evolved a style called Vachchhomī (Vatsagulmī) which became a synonym of Vaidarbhī. Rajaśekhara mentions Vachchhomī in this sense in the opening verse of his *Karpūramañjarī*[1]

The existence, in the *Sattasaī*, of several *Gathas* composed by the two Vakataka kings Sarvasena and Pravarsena II raises the interesting question whether that anthology contains any other *gāthās* composed by other Vakataka princes. We now possess almost complete lists of the princes of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches of the Vakataka dynasty. None of these except Pravarasena (II) and Sarvasena figures in the lists of the authors of verses in the *Sattasaī*. But there were two other branches of the family, probably ruling over the countries of Kuntala and Dakshiṇa Kosala. No records of these branches have yet come to light, probably because they were short lived. The Kuntala branch seem to have been crushed out of existence by the Early Rashtrakuta family which was founded by Mananka in the upper Krishṇa valley in *circa* A D 375[2] Still, as these branches were ruling for about 50 years after the death of Pravarsena I (A D 270 330), they must have produced some Vakātaka princes. As the names of the members of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches invariably end in *sena*, the names of these princes also may have ended in *sena*. The *Gatha saptaśatī* mentions five such names viz Jayasena (v 170), Makarandasena (vv 6, 80 and 90), Satyasena (vv 233 and 298), Mallasena (v 237) and Vasantasena (v 323)[3] The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that like Pravarasena and Sarvasena, these

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1 *Karpuramañjarī*, Act I, v 1

2 See my article on the Rashtrakūtas of Mānapura in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* vol XXV, pp 36 ff See below, No 19

3 See Index to verses in the *Gathāsaptaśatī* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1911) pp 1 f Pītāmbara's commentary ascribes two more verses to Makaranda or Makarandasena, *viz* 429 and 399

five poets also belonged to the Vākāṭaka family. Its corroboration will have to be left to future research.

All these poets wrote in the Mahārāshṭrī Prākrit. No Sanskrit *kāvyas* of the period have yet come to light. But this does not indicate the total absence of Sanskrit *kāvyas* in that period; for otherwise an early rhetorician like Daṇḍin would not have regarded Vaidarbhī as the best style of poetry. If proof of this were needed, it would be furnished by the following verse cited in the *Dhvanyāloka*[1] :—

सुरभिसमये प्रवृत्ते सहसा प्रादुर्भवन्ति रमणीयाः ।
रागवतामुत्कलिकाः सहैव सहकारकलिकाभिः ॥

Ānandavardhana says that this Sanskrit verse existed before the Prakrit *gāthā* 'sajjei surahimāso' etc. which, as I have shown above, was probably taken from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*. That Sanskrit was cultivated in Northern Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha in the beginning of the fourth century A. D. is also shown by the Sanskrit copper-plate grants of the Mahārājas Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa, which are dated in the years 67 and 107 of the Ābhīra era of A. D. 249-50.[2] These dates correspond therefore to A. D. 317 and 352 respectively. Let us hope that the Sanskrit *kāvyas* of the period will also come to light at no distant date.

1. *Dhvanyāloka* (Nirṇayasāgara ed., 1911) p. 286. See also the verses ascribed to Pravarasena in Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*.

2. See my article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' in the *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, pp. 159 f.

Section III

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

12. NEW LIGHT ON DEOTEK INSCRIPTIONS*

Deotek is now a small village, about 50 miles south-east of Nagpur. It contains an old temple in a dilapidated condition and a large inscribed slab. The place was visited by Cunningham's assistant, Beglar, in the year 1873-74. He has described the temple and the inscribed slab in Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol VII, pp 123-125. From the pencilled impressions Beglar took at the time, Cunningham published an eye-copy of the two inscriptions on the slab and his transcript of their texts without any translation or interpretation in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol I (First Edition), pp 28-29. Though the inscriptions are very important and, as I hope to show below, of great antiquity—one dating back to the time of Aśoka and the other to that of the Vākāṭakas, none seems to have so far paid any attention to them. The earlier inscription has not, for instance, been included in the recently published second edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol I, nor referred to in any of the books on Aśoka. Again so far as I know, no scholar has interpreted or even mentioned the Vakataka record so far.[1] The Archaeological Department erected some years ago a tin shed over the inscribed slab and enclosed it with a wire fencing, but the temple remains uncared for. There is not even the usual notice board to declare that the place is protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.

I visited the place in October 1936 and took estampages, which show some better readings than Cunningham's eye-copy. On the other hand some letters which Cunningham read in the last line of the earlier record have since then disappeared, evident

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* *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference, Eighth Session* pp 613 f

1 The two inscriptions are included in his *List of Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (second edition) by the late R B H ralal but beyond stating that one of them is in Pāli characters of about the same period as Aśoka's edicts and the other in Gupta characters, he takes no notice of their contents

ly owing to the peeling off of the surface of the slab which is now used as a seat by village boys and cowherds *while tending cattle.* The slab, though large and heavy, can and should be removed to a safe place like the Nagpur Museum[1] to prevent further damage of the important inscriptions inscribed on it. As described by Beglar, 'the inscribed slab is an oblong trapezoid of rough-grained, quartzy sandstone worn smooth in places by the feet of villagers, it being situated in the thick shade of a magnificent tamarind tree, on the side of the village road, and thus offering a capital resting place and seat ; the stone is nine feet long, three and a half feet broad at one end, and two feet ten inches at the other, with straight sides.[2] It bears two distinct inscriptions.[3]

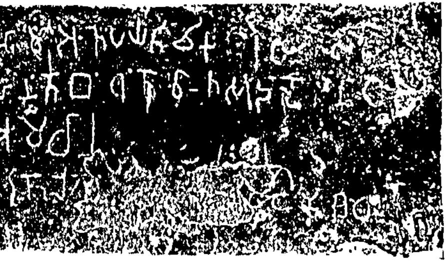
The earlier of the two inscriptions is inscribed lengthwise and is in four lines. It occupies 1′ 10″ of the breadth of the stone, leaving the lower portion of about 1′ 6″ uninscribed. The characters are of the early Brāhmī alphabet, resembling, in many cases those of the Girnar edicts of Aśoka. Some letters, *e. g. ñ, p* and *ch* in the first line and *t* which occurs in the first two lines appear, however, to be somewhat later. It is probably on account of such letters that Cunningham fixed its date approximately as B. C. 100.[4] Some of these may be indicative of the current forms of letters in ancient Vidarbha ; for, in the present record itself we find the earlier forms of these letters used. The form of *ñā*, for instance, which occurs in *rāñā* 1. 4 exactly resembles that of *ñā* in *añāya*, 1. 3 of the Third Rock-Edict at Girnar. Again *ch* which occurs *āmachā* 1. 3 has undoubtedly the same form of the Aśokan *ch*. The letter *t* also has nearly the same form as that of *ñātinaṁ* in 1. 6 of the Fourth Rock-Edict at Girnar. The numerical symbols for 10 and 4 occur in l. 4 and there is, in the extant portion, one instance of a *daṇḍa* being used to indicate *virāma* as in the Mahāsthāna and Ramgaḍh cave

1. It has since been removed to the Nagpur Museum at my instance.

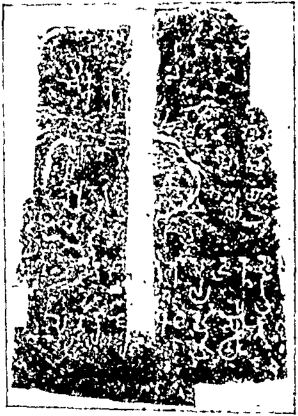
2. Cunningham's statement (*C. I. I.*, Vol. I., First Edition, p. 28), that the stone is 4 feet long by 2¼ feet is incorrect. These dimensions refer to the portion of the slab on which the earlier inscription is incised.

3. *C. A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 124.

4. *Ibid.*, p 29.



Deotek Stone Inscription of Aśoka's Dharmamahāmātra.



Deotek Stone Inscription of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I.

inscriptions

The language is early Prakrit, the same dialect being used as in the Girnar edicts Most of the words are either identical with those used in the latter[1] or similarly formed [2]

At least the first three lines of the inscription seem originally to have extended to the right hand end of the slab, for traces of isolated letters in the first line, which are in no way connected with the second inscription can still be marked on the original stone Besides, the sense of the first two lines, which are fairly legible, appears to be incomplete in the absence of their right hand half [3] It would, again, be very strange if the engraver, selecting a large slab nine feet long and commencing to incise it lengthwise, had ended his lines about the middle of it leaving out nearly a half at the right end For these reasons I cannot accept Beglar s view that 'the second inscription was cut evidently with some regard for the prior inscription, as it does not interfere with or injure it [4] On the other hand, the later inscription seems to be a palimpsest, the earlier one being chiselled off to make room for it

Owing to the loss of nearly a half of this record it is not possible to give a detailed account of its contents However, there remains fortunately sufficient portion of it to indicate that its object was to record the command of some lord (*Sami*) (who is called 'king' in 1 4) prohibiting the capture and slaughter (evidently of some animals in certain seasons as in Aśoka s fifth pillar edict, or, may be, throughout the year) and declaring some punishment for such as dared disobey it The third line mentions executive officers (*amachā* = *amatyah*) whose duty may have been

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1 *E g āñapayati ra o*

2. Cf *hanamto* and *ba ndhamto* in 1 2 with *Laroto (for Laromto)* (Girnar XII 5) and *samto* (Girnar VI 7 VIII 2)

3 One would for instance expect at the end of line 1 the names of animals and the seasons in which their capture and slaughter were prohibited Cf Aśoka s Pillar Edict V

4. *C A S R*, Vol VII p 1^1

to enforce these orders. The last line contains the date[1] 14, denoting probably the regnal year in which the record was incised (*badhaṁ*).[2]

The contents of the present inscription suggest that it may be referred to the age of Aśoka when there was a wide-spread campaign against the capture and slaughter of animals. There are, however, certain circumstances which apparently go against this view. The commencement of the record is unlike that of the well-known rook and pillar edicts of the great emperor; the word *Sāmi* occurs nowhere in Aśokan records; again some of the characters used in the present inscription belong to a later period, as shown above. It may, therefore, be asked if the record could not be referred to the age of some Sātavāhana king, *e.g.*, Gautamīputra, who is called *Sāmi* in the Nasik cave inscription[3] and who undoubtedly ruled over Vidarbha.[4] It may, however, be noted in this connection that the title *Sāmi* was not distinctive of the Sātavāhanas. We find it used in the sense of 'king' in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.[5] In inscriptional literature we find it employed not only in connection with the names of the Sātavāhana kings but also with those of the Kshatrapas of Mahārāshṭra,[6] Mathurā[7] and Kaṭhiāwāḍ.[8] In one case, where it is used by itself,[9] it refers to a Pallava king, the

1 Cunningham read 30 4 3 He pa. I di' but the first may be *lego* (lekbo ?) There is now no means to test his readings of the rest, the surface of the slab baving peeled off since then.

2. For *badham* in this sence cf. *nibadho savachhare* 24, etc, in the Nasik cave inscription, *Ep Ind.*, Vol. VIII, 71.

3 See *Ep. Ind*, Vol., VII, p. 71.

4. *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 60.

5. *See Arthaśāstra, First Ed. by Dr. Shama Sastri, p. 322 etc.*

6. Cf. The Junnar cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 35 f.

7. *Svāmisa mahākshatrapasa goḍasasa saṁvatsare*, etc. Mathurā Jain inscription of the time of *Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa, Ep. Ind*, Vol. II, p. 199.

8. *Raño mahākshatrapasa svāmi—Rudrasenasa varshe*, etc Mulwasar stone inscription of the time of *Mahakshatrapa* Rudrsena.

9. Hirahadgalli copper-plate inscription of Śivaskandavarman, *Ep Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 2 ff.

father of Śivaskandavarman. Besides, we have no other evidence of the prohibition of the capture and slaughter of animals in the records of any Sātavāhana king These kings, though they made liberal donations to Buddhist Bhikshus, were themselves followers of the Vedic religion The Early Sātavāhanas performed animal sacrifices like the *aśvamedha*. In the Nāsik cave inscription[1] of the reign of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, his father Gautamiputra is not only called *eka-Bamhaṇa* (the unique Brāhmana), but is said to have stopped the intermixture of all castes Notwithstanding the somewhat adverse evidence of palaeography, I am therefore, inclined to refer this record to the age of Aśoka

We know that the great Buddhist Emperor prohibited the slaughter and sacrifice of animals and ordered his officers and provincial governors to set out on tours every five years to see *inter alia* that his subjects abstained from killing animals[2] In some of his inscriptions Aśoka orders his officers to get his edicts engraved on stone pillars, rocks, and stone slabs, throughout the districts in their charge[3] These officers must have, accordingly, caused such records to be incised at several places in his extensive empire, though the present is the only instance of its kind that has yet come to light If my reading of the date in the last line is correct, the present edict may have been issued by a Dharma-mahamātra in the fourteenth year after the coronation of Aśoka From the fifth rock edict we learn that these Dharmamahāmātras were first appointed by Aśoka in the thirteenth year after his coronation, *i e*, a year prior to the date of the present record One of the duties assigned to them was to prevent the capture and slaughter of

1 *Ibid* Vol VIII p 60

2 Cf Rock Edict III

3 Cf Rūpanātha Rock Inscription—*iya cha athe pavatisu lekhāpeta valata hadha cha athi sālathabhe silāthambhasi lākhāpetavayata*

Cf also the Pillar Edict VII

Cf The Sarnath Pillar Inscription—*avate cha tuphaka h āhale savata vivasayātha tuphe etena viyañjanena*

animals.[1] It is not unlikely that the Dharmamahāmātra who was in charge of ancient Vidarbha caused the present record to be incised at Chikambari,[2] which seems to have then been a place of great importance, to proclaim the command of the great Emperor to his subjects, living in the neighbourhood.

The second record is in five lines[3] which are inscribed breadthwise, commencing from the narrow end of the slab. Like the earlier inscription, it has also suffered considerable damage. Some letters in the first four lines have either altogether disappeared or become illegible, owing to the wearing away and peeling off of the surface of the slab. Besides, a channel 4″ in breadth has been cut right through the middle of the inscription which has evidently resulted in the further loss of some more letters.[4]

Like the Eran inscription of Samudragupta the present record is inscribed in the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet of about the fourth century A. D. As regards individual letters we may note the form of the tripartite *y* in l. 3 and

1. *Baṁbhana-badhasa paṭividhānāya*. I interpret the expression as above, agreeing with R. B. G. S. Ojha. For the substitution of *b* for *v* we may compare *dbādasa* in Girnar R. E. iii. 1. The expression is interpreted variously by other scholars 'supporting prisoners with money' (Hultzsch); 'the unfettering or the release of (any one) who is bound with fetters' (Bhandarkar); and 'taking steps against imprisonment' (Mukerjee). But if these renderings are accepted there would be no reference in the duties of the Dharmamahāmātras to the prevention of capture and slaughter of animals on which Aśoka had set his heart. Cf. also Kauṭilya—*Sūnadhyaksho mṛigapaśu-pakshi-matsyānāṁ bandhana-vadha-hiṁsānām uttamaṁ daṇḍam kārayet.*

2. The *i* mark of *ri* is not clear in this inscription. It is distinct in the other inscription. The place is now called Chikmārā, but there are villages in the neighbourhood (*e.g.* Pānori, Ārmori) whose names end in *ri*.

3. There are only two letters *va* and *ka* of much smaller size incised in the middle of the sixth line.

4. The channel could not have existed at the time the inscription was incised; for, in one case at least (*viz.* in *vaṁśa . tasya* in l. 4), we are sure that it has caused the loss of one letter. Beglar also has remarked 'Long ages afterwards when no one could read the inscriptions, this great slab large enough to occupy the breadth of the sanctum of a temple, was considered to form into an *argha* and in the process the inscriptions were remorselessly sacrificed'. *C. A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, pp. 124-125.

of the unlooped *n* in l 5. The size of the letters varies from 1¾" to 7¼". The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a sanctuary (*dharma sthānam*) by king Rudrasena at Chikkambari. It may be noted in this connection that there is at present a small plain structure of laterite in a dilapidated condition just near the inscribed slab 'The temple is small, consisting simply of a cell and its entrance; it may have had a small portico or a *mandapa* attached, as the ground in front is covered with cut blocks, but it could not have been large and indeed the temple is of the kind usually built without a *maṇḍapa*'.[1] The existing structure is quite plain The only decoration it seems to have had was in the form of a scroll on its door frame, two fragments of which are lying in front of it The door seems to have been 4' 4" in breadth and about 4' in height The lintel had, in a recess in the middle, a small image of two-armed Ganapati measuring 6" in breadth and 8½" in height The roof of the sanctum is formed of intersecting squares and has a pyramidal shape, cut up exteriorly into gradually diminishing steps Temples of this type can be seen in the adjoining villages of Pānori and Ārmori[2] There is a large image of Ganapati placed in the cell, but it seems to be of a later age The temple was originally dedicated to Śiva The *liṅga* has now disappeared, but from the dimensions of the socket in an old *argha* lying near by, it seems to have been a large one about 13" in diameter Such *liṅgas* are found round about Mansar near Rāmtek, which was undoubtedly an ancient holy place dating back at least to the time of the Vākāṭakas There is a broken image of Nandi lying in front of the present temple Though the present structure cannot date back to the 4th century A D, to which period the inscription can be referred, it undoubtedly marks an ancient site and may have been erected when the original temple fell into ruins

1 *Ibid*, p 124
2 *Ibid*, pp 125-126

The inscription is not dated. The name of the king's family which occurred in the beginning of the fourth line has, unfortunately, been lost; but on the evidence of palæography Cunningham conjecturally assigned the record to Rudrasena I, though, according to the notions then prevalent, he called him a king of the Kailakila Yavanas of Vākāṭaka and placed him in A.D. 170.[1] Though this date cannot now be accepted, Cunningham's attribution of the present record to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I, seems to be correct. There were two kings of this name in the dynasty of the Vākāṭakas, *viz*, Rudrasena I, who was the grandson and successor of Pravarasena I, and Rudrasena II, the grandson of the former and son-in-law of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya. Of these, the former was a Śaiva, being a fervent devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava,[2] while the latter, probably owing to the influence of his wife Prabhāvatī-guptā, was a worshipper of Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu).[3] As the present inscription evidently records the building of a Śaiva temple it may be ascribed to Rudrasena I.

The importance of this present inscription lies in the that it is the earliest record of the Vākāṭakas discovered so far and is, besides, the only lithic record of that royal family. Its situation shows that Rudrasena I ruled south of the Narmadā and renders doubtful the identification of Rudradeva, who is mentioned in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription as one of the kings of Āryāvarta or North India defeated by Samudragupta, with Rudrasena I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

There remains now the question—Why was the inscription inscribed breadthwise and commenced at the narrow end of the slab? As is well-known, there was a revival of Hinduism and Sanskrit learning in the age of the Vākāṭakas. They themselves performed animal sacrifices and could have, therefore, had no

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1. *C. A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 29.

2. The adjective '*atyanta-svāmi-Mahā-Bhairava-bhaktasya*' is applied to him in the copper plates of Pravarasena II.

3. Cf his description '*Bhagavataś-Chakrapāṇeḥ Mahā-prasādopārjita-Śrī-samudayasya*.' in the copper-plates of his son Pravarasena II.

regard for Aśoka's precepts of *Ahimsā*. When, therefore, Rudrasena I built a temple of his favourite deity and wanted to put up an inscription of his own to record it, he could not have felt any scruples in chiselling off some part of the earlier inscription to make room for his record. The stone was probably placed on the broader end of its breadth and half buried, leaving only the Vakātaka record above ground. The left hand portion of the earlier record was left untouched as the Vakātaka inscription, which was commenced at the narrower end of the slab, was finished about the middle of the stone.

There is only one place, viz, *Chikambari*[1] mentioned in both the records. As pointed out by the late Rai Bahādur Hiralal, it is identical with the adjoining village Chikmāra. Chikambari seems to have been a flourishing city for more than six hundred years as both the *Mahāmātra* of Aśoka and the Vakātaka king Rudrasena I, thought it fit to incise their records there. In ancient times it must have extended to, and perhaps included in its expanse, the site of the modern village Deotek where the inscribed slab lies at present.

Text of the Deotek Inscriptions

The earlier Inscription (of the time of Aśoka)—

1 *Sami aśapayati* [*l**] *Chikamba*[*ri*][*sa*] *sa*

2 *hanamto bamdhamto ia tasa damso* [*jha*] *nadha* (*dasaparādha* ?)

3 *āmachā na la nam nu*

4 *rāña legō* (*lekhō* ?) 10 4 *badham* [*||]

The later (Vākātaka) Inscription—

1, *Chikkambu*[*ri*]*sa chi* (?)

2 *sa*(? *rā*)*jah*

3 *pravara ma masyayō* [*Va* *]

4 [*kātaka**]*i amśa*[*jā**]*tasy-edam Rudra*

5 *senarajñah* [*si a**]*dharmma sthanam* [||*]

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1 The name appears as Chikkamburi in the Vakātaka record

13. NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS*

While publishing the coins of some early kings of the Sātavāhana Dynasty, Dr. S. L. Katare has criticised my view about the date of the king Sātavāhana, two of whose coins I published in this Journal some years ago. He proposes to identify the issuer of those coins with the *Kumāra* Sātavāhana of the Nāṇeghāṭ relievo figure inscription. He has also put forward some suggestions about the relationship of Śimuka, Nāganikā, Sati, and Sātavāhana, which deserve to be examined in detail. Although his detailed article on early Sātavāhana genealogy has not yet been published, he has given sufficient indication of his views in the last article published in this Journal.[1] I therefore propose to examine them at some length in this article.

Dr. Katare has objected to my identification of Sātavāhana of the coins with the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty on the ground that 'the form of the letter *da* on the coins is later than that in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā'. He therefore identifies that king with *Kumāra* Sātavāhana of the Nāṇeghāṭ relievo figure inscription. Now, it has been pointed out by several scholars in the past that the palæopraphic evidence is not quite conclusive where the difference in age is of a few decades. Eminent epigraphists like Fleet, Kielhorn and Sukthankar have erred by centuries, not decades, in their estimates of the age of certain records on the evidence of palæography.[2] It is, therefore, risky to fix the date of any king on the evidence of a single letter on his coins. Besides, we notice that even in the same record, evidently written or engraved by the same person, the shapes of the same letters

* *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XIV, pp 26 f.

1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 35 f. Also *Ind. Hist Quart*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 210 f.

2. See, e g, their views about the age of the grants of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II and Tivaradeva. They were referred to the eighth country A.D., whereas they are now proved to be of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D.

vary considerably. See, *e g*, the shape of the letter *d* in the large Nāneghaṭ inscription of Naganika, on which Dr Katare has relied for his evidence. This letter has a clear curve open on the left in several places, see *e g*, *Īdasa* and *Chamda Sutā-(yā)nam* in l 1; but that curve has become shallow in some other cases; see, *e g*, *Vāsudevānam* in the same line [1] Take again the letter *v* This letter shows a circle below a vertical on the coins of Satavahana published by me, but in many places in the large inscription of Naganika it appears triangular, see, e g, the second *v* in the same word *Vasudevānam* in l 1. Katare admits that it is triangular in the relievo figure inscription of Devi Nayanikā, but says that it *remains* circular in that of *Kumāra* Sātavāhana On the evidence of this single letter he will have to place the label of Devi-Nayanikā in a later age than that of the label of *Kumāra* Sātavahana ! I wonder if he accepts this conclusion ! If the shape of *d* indicates that the coins of Satavāhana are of a later age,[2] that of *v* shows that they are earlier than the inscription of Naganikā Reliance on the shape on a single letter would thus land us into an absurd position I am not, therefore, in favour of fixing the age of the king Satavahana on the palæographic evidence of a single letter like *d*

What other evidence have we then on this point? An inscription in a cave at Nasik states that Krishna, who, according to the Puranas, was the brother and successor of Śimuka, belonged to the *Satavāhan kula* A relievo figure inscription mentions *Rajan* Simuka Sātavahana The evidence of these two records shows that there was a person named Satavahana who founded the royal family called *Sātavāhana kula* and that both Śimuka and Krishna were descended from him Had he not been a renownd person of power and prestige, his descendants would not have taken pride in mentioning the family

1 If Krishna Sastri s read og *Khadasiri* instead of *Vedisiri* is accepted, the letter *da* would show the upper curve in the larger inscription of Naganika also I have not however relied on it for supporting my view I take *Vedisiri* as the correct reading

2 In a subsequent article *J N.S I*, Vol XVI, pp 20 21 I have shown that the letter *d* of this very shape occurs in the S rnath pillar inscription and the Jaugadarock inscription of Aśoka

name derived from him. He may have preceded Śimuka and Krishṇa by two or three generations. I would ascribe the coins with the legend *Raño Siri Sādavāhanasa* to him. Another relievo figure inscription no doubt mentions one *Kumāra* Sātavāhana, but we do not know if he ever came to the throne. The Purāṇas are silent about him and the palæographic evidence of the coins is not conclusive. In these circumstances I think it is better to attribute the coins to the founder of the dynasty than to this prince.

In his articles Dr. Katare has made several ingenious suggestions about the relations of Śimuka, Nāyanikā, Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana, which I shall next take up for examination. Dr. Katare's conclusions are as follows,—

(i) Nāyanikā was the wife of Śimuka, not of Sātakarṇi.

(ii) She was acting as a regent for her minor son Sati mentioned in the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription, who is none other than Sātakarṇi mentioned in the relievo figure inscription.

(iii) Śrī-Sāta of the coins is also the same as Sātakarṇi.

(iv) Prince Sātavāhana of another relievo figure inscription was his brother.[1]

For an examination of these conclusions we must study the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription very closely. This record, though mentioned several times, has been edited only once, viz., by Dr. Buhler in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V. The plates accompanying Dr. Buhler's article, like those of the Ajaṇṭā and Gulwāḍā cave inscriptions in *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, appear to have been worked up by hand. A revised edition of this record together with a mechanical facsimile is very desirable. In the absence of it I am utilising Buhler's facsimile, though its accuracy has been called into question by H. Krishna Sastri in regard to certain names occurring in it.

1. In his article in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 213, Katare says that Sātavāhana was probably a son of Sātakarṇi. He appears to have changed his opinion since.

In support of his first conclusion Dr. Katare has put forth two arguments: (i) In the relievo figure inscription the name of Nāyanikā precedes that of Sātakarṇi because she was his mother; and (ii) in the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription the name of the husband of Nāyanikā ends in *śrī*, which is also noticed in the relievo inscription of King Simuka while the name of Sātakarni nowhere ends in *śrī*. There is not much force in the second argument; for *śrī* or *Śrīmat* as an honorific suffix is noticed at the end of several names, both in inscriptions and coins. In the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription it occurs not only at the end of the last name of Nāyanikā's husband, but also at the end of the names Vedi and Sati. (Cf. *Vedisirisa raño* in l. 1; *Vedisiri-mātu* and *Satino sirimatasa* in l. 4). Its omission in the relievo figure inscription of Nāyanikā and Sātakarṇi is quite accidental. If Sati is the same as Sāta as supposed by Katare, we have the full word *sirimata* used in connection with his name. The first argument is more plausible. It can be supported by citing the analogous instance of the Bhedāghāṭ temple inscription of Vijayasimha, which mentions *Mahārājñī* Gosaladevī, *Mahārāja* Vijayasimha, and *Mahākumāra* Ajayasiṁha in this order.[1] Gosaladevī was the mother of the Kalachuri king Vijayasimha and grandmother of the prince Ajayasiṁha. In this case also the dowager queen is mentioned before the reigning king who was her son. There are, however, certain difficulties in accepting this conclusion of Dr. Katare Before stating them we must study carefully the first few lines of the Naneghāt inscription. I give below Buhler's transcript of the first five lines for ready reference :—

१ [ओं नमो पजापति]नो धंमस नमो ईदस नमो संकंसनवासुदेवानं चंदसूतानं [महि]मा[व]तानं चतुंनं च लोकपालानं यमवरुनकुबेरवासवानं नमो कुमारवरस वेदिसिरिस र[ञो]

२ . . . . वीरस सूरस अप्रतिहतचक्रस दखि[नाप]ठ-[पतिनो] . . . .
. . . .

३ मा . . . . यालाय महारठिनो अंगियकुलवधनस

1. Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripuri* etc., p. 42.; *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, part I, p. 364.

सगरगिरिवल[या]य पथविय पथमवीरस वस . . . . य व अलह (!) . . .
. . . . सलसु य महतो मह . . . .

४ . . . . सिरिस भारिया देवस पुतदस वरदस कामदस धनदस वेदिसिरिमातु सतिनो सिरिमतस च मातुय सीम . . . . पथमय . . . .

५ वरिय . . . . अ [ना]गवरदयिनिय मासोपवासिनिय गहतापसाय चरितब्रह्मचरियाय दिखव्रतयंनमुंडाय यना हुता धूपनसुगंधा य निय . . . .

Bühler translated the words नमो कुमारवरस वेदिसिरिस रञो as "Praise to Vediśrī, the best of royal princes! Of the King . . ." This translation is plainly incorrect. Buhler also must have felt that the construction was unusual. So he tried to justify it as *follows:—"It seems to me that the queen described in the large* inscription must have been ruling as guardian of her son, the prince Vedisiri. For though, as has been shown, she is the chief person in the inscription, "the best of royal princes," Vedisiri is addressed in line 1 with *namo* "adoration to" or "praise to"; and treated with the same reverence as the gods invoked in the beginning of the *maṅgalācharaṇa.* That fact points to his occupying a privileged and particularly high position." This is hardly convincing. There appears no *reason why a prince who had not even come of age should be* so highly adored or praised. In the whole range of Indian inscriptional literature this is the only instance of a prince being adored like a god in the beginning of a record incised during his minority. Rapson saw the abusrdity of this construction and differing from Buhler, took *namo* in each instance with the preceding genitive[1]. He further remarked, "The inscription proper begins with *Kumāras*[2] and in the hiatus Prince *Vedi-śrī* was probably described as the son of King Śrī-Sātakarṇi, the Lord of the Deccan". *Rapson's construction also is equally open* to objection. In all ancient Prakrit and Sanskrit records *namo*

1. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc. (B. M. C.), P. XIV.

2. *The Inscription reads Kumāravarasa* not *Kumārasa. Agala, Rapson* seems to have omitted *Pajipatino* preceding *Dhaṃmasa* though the traces of those words were visible in Bühler's time. The last two *akshras* can be read from his plates also.

occurs before the name of the deity adored See *e g*, the following —

1 नमो अ[रि]हतान in The Hāthigumphā cave inscription *Ep*, *Ind* Vol XX, p 79

2 नमो भगवतो देवराजसक्तस ..सम्मुनो in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of Vīrapurushadatta *Ibid*, Vol XX p 16

3 नमश्शिवाय in the Tālagunda inscription of Śāntivarman *Ibid*, Vol VII p 31

4 नमो महादेवाय in Khoh copper plate of Hastin, *C I I*, Vol III, p 95

It is needless to multiply instances The word *namo* in the Nāneghat inscription must therefore, be construed with what follows and not with what precedes it The correct meaning of *namo Kumāraviraśa* is 'Adoration to Kārttikeya That Kārttikeya bore this name is clear from the name *Kumara varadatta* of a king, occurring in the inscription recently edited by me[1] *Vediśirisa* which follows must plainly be construed with *ratio* and the expression taken to mean 'during the reign of king Vediśri[2] The words in the second line वीरस सूरस अप्रतिहतचकस दखिनापठपतिनो evidently continue the description of the same king Vediśri and describe him as brave irresistible and the lord of Dakshinapatha The words lost at the end of line 2 probably recorded the regnal year, season, fortnight and day when the inscription was incised Compare similar recording of the date in the inscriptions of Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi in the Karle and Nasik caves Then follows the description of the queen who is the central figure in this inscription Her name is unfortunately lost but she was probably Nayanikā (or Nāganikā) as conjectured by Buhler She is described in the following words —सिरिस भारिया देवस पुतदस वरदस कामदस धनदस वेदिसिरिमातु सतिनो सिरिमतस च मातुय

Buhler translated this as follows (Who is the) wife of

1 *Ep Ind.* Vol XXVII p 51 Cf the similar name वीरपुरुषदत्त

2 As I have shown before in this *Journal* (Vol III p 66) adjectives and words in apposition often follow those which they qualify

śrī, the lord who gives sons,[1] boons, *(the fulfilment of)* desire and wealth, *(who is the)* mother of Vediśrī and the mother of *the illustrious Śakti". This rendering also is open to several* objections. The देरस पुतदस वरदस etc. cannot be construed with *-siris* from which they have been separated by the intervening word *bhāriyā*. The description of the king, whose wife Nāyanikā was, must have occurred at the end of line 3 and before *bhāriyā* in l. 4. The words that follow *bhāriyā* evidently describe Vediśrī. In *Vedisiri-mātu* we have evidently a *sāpeksha-samāsa* such as is noticed not seldom even in Sanskrit inscriptions. The words देवस पुतदस वरदस वामदस *etc.* are in apposition to or qualify वेदिसिरिस which has been compounded with *mātu*. Vediśrī, who was called *rājan*, is here described as *deva*, both the words meaning 'a king'. The *queen* who caused the several sacrifices to be performed and made munificent gifts *to the officiating priests and others is here described as* the mother of two princes, the reigning king Vediśrī and the *prince Śaktiśrī*. There is no *mention of her being a regent for* either of them.

The queen-mother *is further described as one who fasted* during a whole month, who *(even)* in her house *(lived like)* an *ascetic, who remained chaste, who was well acquainted with* initiatory ceremonies, vows and offerings. This description *also indicates that she was very old at the time. She had* lost all interest in worldly matters, and was devoting herself to religious practices. Such a lady is *hardly likely to busy* herself with the governing of an extensive kingdom like that of the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha.

The large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription was therefore, *not* incised during the minority of any prince and does *not* describe *any* queen as regent for the minor son. It may be noted that Pandit Bhagwanlal, who first deciphered *this inscription, took* it as referring to the reign of *King* Vediśrī, though he identified him with Sātakarṇi of the relievo figure inscription.[2] *Bühler,*

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1. पुतदस is, however, the same as Sanskrit पूर्तदस्य 'who performs charitable works.'

2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 312.

who was misled by the word *Kumāravarasa*, took the record as incised during the minority of Vedisri, with the queen mother Nāyanikā acting as regent This view has been adopted by all the writers who have written on the history of the Śātavāhanas, such as Rapson, Raychaudhuri, Gopalachari and D C Sircar The foregoing detailed examination of the initial portion of the large Nāneghāt inscription must have made it clear that it was incised during the reign of the Vedisri

Divergent views have been expressed about the identification of the husband of Nāyanikā, Vedisri and Satisri (or Śaktisri), mentioned in the inscription The name of the first of these is completely lost and has to be restored conjecturally Bhagvanlal identified him with Sitavāhana (i e, Śimuka Sātavāhana) and the same view is now supported by Katare We have seen above that of the two reasons stated by the latter in favour of this view, the first appears plausible though the second has little weight It would, however, presuppose that Nayanikā who was already very old during the reign of king Vedisri, survived him and got the relievo figures carved in the reign of her second son Sati, whom Katare identifies with *Rājan* Sātakarni of the relievo figure inscription This seems improbable In the present state of our knowledge it appears better to identify the husband of Nāyanikā with Sātakarni I, mentioned in the Purānas He may, however, have been the son of Simuka, not of Krishna as stated in them

It may look strange that neither Vedisri nor Satisri is represented in the gallery of relievo figures We must, however, remember that two statues and the labels over them have now been completely lost The order of the statues was as follows — *Rajan* Simuka 2 *Devi* Nāyanika and *Rājan* Satakarni, 3 *Kumara* Bhaya 4 and 5 (Names lost) 6 *Maharathi* Trana Kayira 7 *Kumara* Hakusri and 8 *Kumara* Sātavahana The most plausible interpretation of these appears to be that they were caused to be carved by the queen during the reign of her son Vedisri The first statue is of her father in law Simuka Sātavahana, the second—a dual one—of herself and her

husband ; the third was of her son Bhāya- who was dead at the time ; the fourth and fifth were of two other sons, the reigning king Vedisrī and prince Satisrī, now mutilated ; the sixth was of her father and the *seventh and eighth of* the princes Hukuśrī and Sātavāhana who were probably sons of Vediśrī.[1] The name of the *kumāra* Bhāya- has been omitted in the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription probably because he was dead at the time.

Dr. Katare has drawn attention to a coin with the legend *sātis* which closely resembles in its reverse type another with the legend *Sātakaṇisa*. He identifies this Sāti with the prince Sati mentioned in the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription and both of them further with king Sātakarṇi I. He does not, however, explain why the prince's name was shortened into *Sati* in the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription. We know of course that names are sometimes shortened on coins for want of space ; there was, however, no such difficulty in the large Nāṇeghāṭ inscription. I suggested previously that the coins with the legend *Sātisa* may have been struck by Sātavāhana ; but in view of the clear mention of Sati in Nāyanikā's inscription it seems better to hold that they were issued by Sati, who succeeded Vediśrī.

It now remains to say a few words about the sacrifices performed by Nāyanikā. D. R. Bhandarkar thought that these sacrifices were performed by her as the *sahadharmachāriṇī* of her husband Sātakarṇi.[2] But the inscription is explicit on the point. It tells us clearly that some of them at least were offered by her while she was living like an ascetic in her house and was observing chastity (*brahmacharya*). The description shows that she was a widow at the time. It is not unlikely that some of these sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* were

1. This suggestion has also been made by Gopalachari See his *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 88. Rapson thought that *one of* the lost statues was of Krishṇa.

2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 72, n. 11. Bühler thought that though the Brāhmaṇas were forbidden to act as priests for women, the prohibition *did not* apply to women who might be conducting the government of a state. ... have seen, however, that Nāyanikā was not occupying such a position at t... of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription.

performed by her and her husband. This was probably stated explicitly in the lost portion in the beginning of line 6 Notice *rāyasa* which still remains in that line Some others may have been offered by herself. This was also probably stated in the inscription Notice *sayam* (Sanskrit *svayam*) in line 17 of the larger inscription She must, of course, have got these sacrifices performed by the priests on her behalf, as is the custom even now

14. DATE OF MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA*

This inscription was discovered at Mathurā by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna. It is incised on the pedestal of a broken statue of the Buddha. It has been edited before, with a photo-lithograph, by Rai Bahadur D.R. Sahni in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f. It is proposed to discuss the date of this epigraph here in view of its importance for the Kushāṇa period of Indian history.

The date of this inscription was read by Sahni as *Mahārāja-Dēvaputrasya Kaṇishkasya saṁvatsarē 10 4 Pausha-māsa-divasē 10, i.e.*, on the 10th day of the month of Pausha in the year 14 of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kaṇishka. Sahni referred this inscription to the reign of Kanishka, the great founder of the Kushāṇa era. His reading of the date and the consequent attribution of the record have not generally been called in question.[1] But even a cursory glance at the photo-lithograph which accopanies his article will show that the date has been misread. As in other Kushāṇa records, it is expressed in numerical symbols. The year of the date is shown by two symbols, the second of which is undoubtedly 4 as read by Sahni. The first symbol,[2] however, does not stand for 10. This will be

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**Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 293 f.

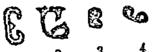
1. It has of course been pointed out by some that the characters of this inscription are too developed for the reign of the great Emperor Kanishka, the founder of the Kushāṇa era; for, it shows the cursive forms of *m*, *s* and *h* which are believed to have become current in the Gupta age. But the difficulty is sought to be removed by one scholar by referring the date to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of A. D. 248-49 (see *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IV, p. 413). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, has accepted the reading of the date given by Sahni (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p 2).

2. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XIX pl. facing p. 97, and No. 4 of the symbols reproduced here.

quite clear from the fact that it is not identical with the symbol for 10 used further on in the same line to denote the day I read this symbol as 50, so that the date of the record is 50 + 4, i e, the year 54

In support of my reading I call attention to the form of the symbol which occurs in another Mathura inscription of the same year,[1] edited by Bühler There the form is the same as in the present inscription with only this difference that, whereas the symbol appears quite vertical in the former, it is slanting in the latter It is a cursive form of the usual symbol for 50 which consists of an arc open to the right, with both the ends turned inside See, *for instance, the form of* the symbol *in the Giñjā* inscription of Bhimasena, dated in the year *52*[2] In both the aforementioned Mathura inscriptions of the year 54, the lower and upper curves of the symbol are turned into loops An intermediate form is shown by the symbol used in another inscription

Symbols for 50 used in the Brāhmī records of Mathurā



1 2 3 4

found at Mathura itself, which is dated in the year 50[3] In this only the lower curve has been turned into a loop The value of this symbol is clearly shown by two inscriptions[4] from Mathura dated in the years 52 and 57 where the date is given both in words and in numerical symbols

1 Above Vol I p 391 No XXI and plate See No 3 of the symbols reproduced here Bühler at first read this symbol as 80 but in view of another inscription from Mathura (*Ep Ind*, Vol II p 210, No 38 and plate) in which the year 57 is given both in words and in numerical symbols he took it to be equivalent to 50 Vincent Smith read the same symbol as 40 but, as Lüders has shown it undoubtedly stands for 50 See *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIII p 105

2 See No 1 of the symbols reproduced here

3 *Ep Ind* Vol II p 203 No XVII, and pl See No 2 of the symbols reproduced here

4 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 203, No XVIII and p 210, No XXXIII, and plates

The Mathurā pedestal inscription is thus dated on the 10th day of the month Pausha in the year 54 during the reign of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Kanishka.[1] As already remarked by Sahni, this is a peculiar date, for it is recorded in a Hindu solar month instead of in a season as in other Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā. This should not, however, cause any suspicion, for we have now another Kushāṇa Brāhmī inscription from Mathurā which also has a peculiar date. The latter is recorded in the Macedonian month Gurppiya.[2]

This new reading of the date of the Mathurā pedestal inscription presents a problem to which we may now turn. As stated before, the inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Kanishka. The reign of this Kanishka overlaps that of Huvishka. We have had till now records of Kanishka dated in the years *2—23*,[3] those of Vāsishka dated in the years *24* and *28*[4] and those of Huvishka dated in the years *28–60*.[5] *It has therefore been supposed that Kanishka* was succeeded by Vāsishka in the year *24* and the latter by Huvishka in the year 28. Huvishka is known to have ruled at least till the year 60. How is it then that this *Mahārāja Devaputra* Kanishka appears suddenly at Mathurā in the year 54? The discovery of the Ārā inscription dated in the year 41 which referred itself to the reign of *Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra, Kaisara* Kanishka, the son of Vajheshka, had also presented a similar difficulty; for its date also fell in the reign of Huvishka. Two explanations of this sudden appearance of Kanishka in the year 41 were given. According to R. D. Banerji, who identified Kanishka of the Ārā

1. This will also explain why the characters of this inscription are *somewhat more developed than those in the records of Kanishka I. As a* matter of fact, the looped *s* occurs throughout in a Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of the year 25 as shown by Buhler (*Ep. Ind*, Vol. I, pp. 372-73). *M* with an unjoined middle and cursive *h* occurs in an inscription of Śaka 127 at Jasdan (Kāthiāwāḍ) as pointed out by D.R. Bhandarkar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp 2-3).

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 55 ff.

3. *The latest date of Kanishka is the year 23* recorded in a stone inscription in the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Mathurā. *An. Rep., A. S. I*, for 1910-11, p. 35 It is very desirable that this record should be published.

4. Lüders' *List of Brāhmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 149a and 161.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 61 ff. and Lüders' *List*, etc., No. 56.

inscription with the great founder of the Kushāna era, 'the only explanation of the synchronism of Kanishka and Huvishka...is that, after the first ten years of Kanishka's reign, Huvishka was left in charge of Indian affairs with full imperial titles, while the former attended to the long war on the frontier and in trying to reclaim the lost provinces'[1] This explanation was adopted by Mr Vincent Smith in the third edition of his *Early History of India* As an inscription of Vāsishka dated in the year 24 was subsequently found, Smith suggested the following reconciliation of the known data —'Vāsishka and Huvishka were sons of Kanishka, who both acted in succession as Viceroys of Upper India while their father was warring beyond the mountains Vāsishka, of whom no coins are known, seems to have predeceased his father, who was succeeded in his whole empire by Huvishka'[2] Dr Lüders, on the other hand, suggested that Kanishka of the Ārā inscription who calls himself the son of Vajheshka was different from the homonymous great Emperor He was the latter's grandson, being the son of Vasishka (called Vajheshka in the Ārā inscription) who is known to have ruled at least from the year 24 to the year 28 He thus described the course of events —'Kanishka was followed by Vasishka between the years 11 and 24[3] After Vasishka's death, which occurred probably soon after Sam 28, there was division of the empire Kanishka II took possession of the northern portion of the kingdom In India proper, Huvishka made himself king The reign of Kanishka II endured at least as far as Saṁ 41, the date of our (*i e*, Ārā) inscription But before Sam 52 Huvishka must have recovered the authority of the northern portion of the empire, for in this year he is mentioned as king in the Kharōshthi inscription which was found at Wardak to the south west of Kābul'[4] This theory was adopted by Dr Sten Konow He pointed out that Huvishka did not make himself independent before the year 40, for until then he is simply styled *Mahāraja*

1 *Ind Ant* Vol XXXVII p 49

2 V A Smith *Early History of India* (Third Ed) p 270

3 We now know that Kanishka I continued to rule till the year 23 (see note 3, p 130 above

4 *Ind Ant*, Vol XLII p 165

Dêvaputra. Soon after that he declared his independence and began to issue coins in his own name. 'We cannot tell,' says Dr. Konow, 'whether Kanishka II survived this new departure of Huvishka by more than a year, or if it was brought about by rumours of his approaching death.'[1]

The date of the Mathurā pedestal inscription throws fresh light on these problems. In the first place, the proximity of its date to that of the Ārā inscription shows that the Kanishkas mentioned in the two records are identical. Secondly, it is clear that this Kanishka must be distinguished from the great Emperor Kanishka who founded the Kushāṇa era. Before the discovery of this date 54, it was possible to argue that the year 41 of the Ārā inscription was of the reign of Kanishka I, for a reign of 41 years is not very unlikely. But it is improbable, though not impossible, that Kanishka I ruled for 54 years. This Kanishka of the Ārā and Mathurā pedestal inscriptions may therefore be called Kanishka II.[2] As conjectured by Luders, Vajheshka is probably identical with Vāsishka[3] who may have been a son of Kanishka I and who is known to have ruled from the year 24 to the year 28. Kanishka II seems thus to have been a grandson of Kanishka I, for in India grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.

As stated before, the reigns of Huvishka and Kanishka II are overlapping. So long as only one inscription of Kanishka II was known, it was possible to explain this by supposing that Kanishka II ruled over the northern and Huvishka over the southern parts of the great Kushāṇa Empire; for the inscription of Kanishka II was found at Ārā near Peshāwar, while the

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1. *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i, p. lxxxi.

2. Luders thought that the use of the patronymic in the Ārā inscription was intended to distinguish Kanishka II from Kanishka I (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 135). The argument now loses its force, because in the present inscription which belongs to the reign of the same king Kanishka II no such patronymic has been used.

3. [Vāsishka is undoubtedly identical with Vajheshka, Vajhushka of inscriptions and Jushka of the *Rajatarangini*. Sten Konow has already shown that *j*, *jh* and *s* are attempts at rendering the voiced *s*. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 165—Ed., *Ep. Ind.*]

inscriptions of Huvishka were found in the vicinity of Mathurā and Aligarh in the United Provinces[1] But now this inscription of Kanishka II comes from the same part of the country over which Huvishka was ruling And what is more, its date (year 54) falls just midway between the years 50 and 55 recorded in inscriptions of the reign of Huvishka[2] found at Mathurā itself It is again noteworthy that in all these three inscriptions of the years 50, 54 and 58 found at Mathurā, both Huvishka and Kanishka II bear the ordinary title of *Mahārāja*[3] In the Ārā inscription dated in the year 41, Kanishka II bears the imperial titles *Rajatiraja* and *Kaisara*, while in the Wardak inscription dated in the year 30, Huvishka also bears the imperial title *Rajātiraja* It will be noticed that the afore mentioned Mathurā inscriptions of both Huvishka and Kanishka mention no such imperial titles in connection with either of them To reconcile these apparently contradictory data, it may be suggested that there was a civil war in the Kushana Empire after the death of Vasishka At first Kanishka II was victorious and he ruled as Emperor till the year 41 Some time between 41 and 50 he suffered reverses at the hands of Huvishka who reduced him to a subordinate position Soon thereafter both of them were defeated by some one else and made to assume the subordinate rank of *Mahārāja*

Such a reconstruction of Kushana history does not, however, seem probable, for the titles mentioned in these private records may be merely matters of accident We notice the same thing in the case of Kanishka I The records of the years 2 and 3 of his reign mention only the title *Maharaja*[4] Even this title is absent in the subsequent record of the year 5[5] Then we

1 An inscription of the reign of Huvishka dated in the year 45 from the collection of Pandit Bhagwanlal was found in the Library of the Bombay University but its original find spot is not known *J B B R A. S* Vol XX pp 269 ff

2 Luders *List* etc Nos 51 and 42 above Vol XIV, p 138

3 In two of these (viz in those of the years 50 and 54) the title *Devaputra* is used in addition to *Mahāraja*

4 *Ep Ind* vol XXIV, p 212 and Lüders *List*, etc No 925

5 *Ibid* No 18

find the title *Rājātirāja* in the records of the years 7, 8 and 11,[1] but it is absent again in those of the years 9 and 10.[2] We cannot therefore draw any conclusion from the absence of the imperial titles in the records of Huvishka and Kanishka II.

How then are we to explain this strange phenomenon of both Huvishka and Kanishka II ruling at Mathurā in the years 50–58 ? I think the only theory which can explain it is that of the joint rule of these kings. In the Andhau inscription of Śaka 52,[3] we have a very similar case of Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman ruling jointly in Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwāḍ.[4] Another analogous instance is that of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes Karka and his younger brother Gōvinda who were ruling in Gujarāt jointly from Śaka 722 to Śaka 748.[5] Kanishka II and Huvishka may similarly have ruled jointly at least during the period from the year 41 to the year 54.

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1. *Ibid.*, No. 21; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 11 and *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 138 ff.

2. Lüders' *List*, etc., Nos. 22 and 23.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 23 ff.

4. For a discussion of this problem, see *J. R. A. S.* for 1926, pp. 659 ff.

5. Karka's grants are dated in Śaka 734 and 738 and those of his younger brother Govinda in Śakā 732 735, and 749. In his grants Govinda does not say that he made them with the permission of his elder brother. Again, he pays in them a tribute to Karka which makes the theory of a civil war and usurpation of the kingdom by Govinda unlikely. As the villages granted by these brothers are in the same part of the country, nay, in some cases are situated within a few miles of one another, the theory that there was a division of the kingdom between them is also untenable. Dr. Altekar has suggested that Govinda was governing Gujarat as a deputy for his elder brother, while the latter was acting as a regent for the boy king Amoghavarsha I, but the discovery of Govinda's grant dated Śaka 732 has shown that Govinda was holding Gujarat even before the death of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Govinda III. We must therefore suppose that the two brothers were ruling jointly in Gujarat.

15 DATES OF SOME EARLY KINGS OF KAUŚĀMBĪ*

From several stone inscriptions discovered at Kosam (ancient Kausāmbi) and Giñja in Uttar Pradesh and at Bandhogarh in the Rewah State, we have come to know the names of some ancient rulers of Kauśambi The records are dated in an era, the beginning of which is still to be determined It is proposed to examine the question in this article and to suggest a solution

The records at Kosam and Giñja which have been published, may be chronologically arranged as follows Their date portions are also given below for ready reference

(1) Ginjā inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhimasena (year 5?)[1]—Mahārājasya Śrī Bhimasenasya sa[m*]vatsare 50 2 gimha pakshe 4 divase 10 2

(2) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha (year 81)[2]—Maharajasya śri Bhadramaghasya sa[m*]vatsare ekasite 80 1 grishma pakshe dvitiye 2 divase panchame 5

(3-4) Allahabad Museum (Kosam) inscriptions of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha (year 87)[3]—Mahar[a]jasya sri Bhadramaghasya sa[m]vatsare sapt[a]site 80 7 varsha paksha tritīya 3 divasa 5

(5) Kosam inscription of *Maharaja* Bhadramagha (year 88)[4]—Maharajasya śri Bhadram[aghasya] [samvatsa]re 80 8 varsha paksha 3 divasa 5

(6) Kosam inscription of *Maharaja* Vaiśravana (year 107)[5]—[Ma]h[a]r[ā]jasya śri Vaisrava[ṇasya] samvatsare sapt-ōttara śatame 100 7 grishma pakshe saptame 7 divase prathame

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***Epigraphia Indica* Vol XXVI pp 237 f

1 Cunningham *A S R* Vol III Pl facing p 306

2 *Ep Ind* Vol XXIV pp 253 ff and plate

3 *Ibid* Vol XXIII pp 245 ff and plate

4 *Ibid* Vol XVIII p 160 and plate Jayaswal read the date as 86 (*History of India 150 A D—350 A D* p 230) According to Dr Konow this inscription is of the same date as Nos. 3 and 4 above

5 *Ep Ind* Vol XXIV pp 146 ff and plate

(7) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Śivamagha (date lost)[1]—[Mahā]rajasya śrī-Śivamaghasya sa[ṁvatsare]...[varsha-pakshe] 2 divase prathame 1.

(8) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman (year 133)[2]—Mahārāja-śrī-Bh[ī]mavarmaṇādı saṁvatsa[re*] tri[ṁ]ś-ōttara-śatime 100 30 grishma-pakshe prathame 1 di[vase].

(9) Kosam inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman (year 139)[3]—Mahar[ā]jasya śrı-Bhīmavarmmaṇaḥ saṁva[t*] 100 30 9. . . . 2(?) diva 7.

The records found at *Bāndhogarh* have not yet been published,[4] but from the information occasionally communicated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, we learn that they are records of the reigns of the *Mahārāja* Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena (year 51) and his son Poṭhasiri (year 86) (? 76) and grandson Bhadadēva (year 90).[5] Two other small inscriptions discovered at Bāndhogarh record each the construction of a cave by the *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa,[6] son of the *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla. They are not dated. Two sealings, one of *Rājan* Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena and the other of *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Śivamagha were found during excavations at Bhīṭā.[7] They contain among others the devices of the bull and the tree-in-railing, which, as stated below, occur on the coins of the kings of Kauśāmbī. Some coins of Prishṭhaśriya with the same devices were also discovered at Bhīṭā.[8] As conjectured

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, and plate.
2. *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff and plate.
3. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 266 ff and plate. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar refers the date of this record to the Chēdi era (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 173 n. 3), while Mr. A. Ghosh refers it to the Gupta era (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. III, pp 178 ff), both on palæographic grounds. Its characters do not materially differ from those of other Kosam inscriptions listed here. Its date must therefore be referred to the same reckoning.
4. They have since been edited by N. P. Chakravarti in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 f.
5. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIV, p. 146, n. 2.
6. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, p. 101.
7. *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1911-12, p. 15.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

by Dr. Motichandra,[1] this Pṛishṭhaśriya is probably identical with Poṭhasiri of the Bāndhogarh inscription. Again, a hoard of copper coins has recently been discovered at Sāton in the Fatehpur District of U P. It has been described by Dr. Motichandra.[2] It contained the coins of Bhadramagha, Vaiśravana, Śivamagha and Bhīmavarman. These coins have the same devices of the bull and the tree in-railing. Again, Dr. Allan's *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (Ancient India)*, pp 157 58, describes some coins with the legend Jayama[gha*]. It is not known if this legend is complete, for these coins are not illustrated there. Perhaps it is not, for I saw with Dr A S Altekar some Kauśāmbī coins from the collection of Rai Bahadur B M Vyasa, on which the king's name appears to be Vijayamagha. Some of the Kauśāmbī coins found in the excavations of Bhīṭā had the incomplete legends (i) vijaya (? ja), (ii) vi- and (iii) yama.[3] They also probably belong to the same king Vijayamagha.

The order of succession from Bhīmasena to Vaiśravana is settled by the relationship these kings bore to one another. I place Śivamagha after Vaiśravana, because the characters of his Kosam record appear to be somewhat more cursive than those of Bhīmasena's record. Vijayamagha is tentatively placed last of all, because his coins have been found only in the vicinity of Kauśāmbī. These kings held the country from Kosam to Bāndhogarh, a large part of which was included in the ancient Chedi or Dahala. It is not definitely known where they had their capital, but it is not unlikely that they ruled from Kauśāmbī, the ancient capital of the Vatsa country where the records and coins of most of them have been found.

From all available material we can arrange these kings chronologically as follows —

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1 *J N S I* Vol II p 99 n 18

2. *Ibid* pp 95 ff

3. *An Rep A S I* for 1911 12, p 67

No.	Name of king	Title.	Years.	Places where stone records have been found.	Places where sealing was found.	Places where coins were found.
1	Vāsishṭhīputra-Bhīmasēna.	Rājan, Mahā*rāja*.	51, 52	Giñjā, Bandho*garh*,	Bhīṭā . .	...
2	Pṛishṭhaśriya, son of (1).	(Not known),	*86 (? 76)*[1]	Bāndhogarh.	...	Bhīṭā
3	Bhadramagha, son of (2).	Mahārāja, Mahāsenāpati.	81, 87, 88, 90	Kosam, Bandhogarh.	...	Fatehpur, Kosam.
4	Vaiśravaṇa, son of (3)	Rājan, Mahārāja.	107	Kosam . .	...	Fatehpur, Kosam.
5	Gautamīputra (Śivamagha)	*Mahārāja.*	*(Date lost)*	Kosam . .	Bhīṭā . .	Fatehpur.
6	Bhīmavarman . .	Mahārāja .	130, 139	Kosam . .	...	Fatehpur.
7	Vijayamagha . .	...	...	...	...	Kosam, Bhīṭā

1. I have suggested here that the year 86 found in a record of *Pṛishṭhaśriya from* Bāndhogarh is a mistake for 76, because it overlaps

It will be noticed that the known dates of these kings range from the year 51 to the year 139. They evidently refer to one and the same reckoning, but it is nowhere specified. The inscriptions, again, do not mention any contemporary kings and thus afford no definite clue to the period in which these kings flourished.[1] We have therefore to examine this question in light of other evidence, more or less indefinite, of palæography, language and the mode of dating adopted in these records and the stratification of the level at which their coins and seals were found.

As regards palæography the following peculiarities have been noticed :—

(1) The medial short *i* is shown by a small curve on the top of a letter as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records this curve is brought down much lower on the left of the letter.

(2) The medial *e* is generally indicated by a short horizontal stroke to the left as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records the *mātrā* is usually placed on the top.

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the dates of his son Bhadramagha. After this article had been sent to the press, Dr B. Ch. Chhabra, in reply to an enquiry in this connection, informed me that as many as five records of the reign of Pothasiri (Pṛishṭhaśriya) dated in the year 86 have been discovered at Bāndhogarh and that the reading of the number of the year is decidedly 86 as it is expressed not only in symbols but also in words (*Chhāsīte*). He informs me also that there is another inscription, pertaining to the reign of the same king, which is dated in the year 87. There is thus no mistake about the reading and the dates undoubtedly overlap One way of explaining this would be to distinguish between *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha and *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabala or Bhadad va (Bhadrad va) and to suppose that the former was ruling at Kosam and the latter, like his father Prishthaśriya and son Vaiśravaṇa, was holding Bāndhogarh. But as the coins of Prishthaśriya and Vaiśravaṇa have been found at Bhiṭā, at Kosam and near Fatehpur, it seems that the rule of these kings extended to the Vatsa country in the north. Perhaps Prishthaśriya and his son Bhadramagha or Bhadrabala were ruling jointly. For similar cases of joint rule in ancient India, see *Ep Ind.*, vol xxxvi, p. 297. In a subsequent article (see below, No 24) I have suggested another explanation viz. Bhadrabala was only an army commander of the contemporary Magha king His son *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa may have been ruling over a small principality near Bandhogadh They were the ancestors of the later king Jayabala of the Pāṇḍava dynasty

1. The *Puranas* state that nine kings named Megha ruled in Kosala,

(3) The medial *o* is shown by a concave curve as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records, the vowel is shown by two *mātrās* turned in opposite directions.

(4) The right verticals of *g*, *t* and *ś* are of the same length as the left ones. This is a peculiarity of the Kushāṇa records. In the Gupta inscriptions the right verticals of these letters are much elongated.

(5) *Gh*, *p* and *y* are rectangular as in the Kushāṇa period. In the Gupta period these letters become round and cursive.

(6) *N* has a curved base as in the Kushāṇa records, but no loop except in the late inscription of Vaiśravana's reign. This letter became looped in the Gupta period.

(7) *M* and *h* have the later, so-called eastern, forms known from Gupta records, though on the coins of these kings *m* has the archaic shape of the Kushāṇa period.

(8) *S* appears both in looped and unlooped forms. The unlooped form of it was generally current in the Kushāṇa period and the looped one in the Gupta period.

As regards language, these records bear affinity to the Kushāṇa rather than to the Gupta records. They are written in a mixed dialect which was current in the Kushāṇa age. Such Prākrit expressions as *ētāyā puruvaya* for *ētasyām purvāyām* or *śatime* for *śatatame* are used side by side with correct Sanskrit forms. The language of the Gupta records is generally good Sanskrit.

The method of dating adopted in these records is slightly different from that of the Kushāṇa records from Mathurā. The dates are recorded in years and seasons, but instead of mentioning the number of months within the seasons as in the Kushāṇa records from Mathurā, they state the number of fortnights like Sātavāhana records from the Deccan.[1] In North India such

which usually denotes modern Chattisgarh But no coins or records of the kings of this dynasty have been found there.

1. Lüders' *List of Brāhmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1122—26.

season dates were current during the Kushāna period, but they seem to have gone out of use in the Gupta age as there is not a single certain date of that age recorded in seasons [1]

As regards the evidence of stratification, it may be pointed out that the sealings of Bhīmasēna and Śivamagha were found during excavations at Bhiṭā at the level of the lower floor of Nāgadeva's house, all the finds of which belong to the Kushāna period [2] According to Sir John Marshall, the house was deserted owing to some catastrophe in the Kushāna period

Having thus stated the nature of the evidence available for determining the age of these records, let us proceed to examine the theories advanced so far

(I) Rai Bahadur D R Sahni referred the date of the Kosam stone inscription of Bhadramagha to the **Gupta era** The years 51—139 of these records would, on this supposition, correspond to A D 370—458 This theory does not appear plausible, for, though these inscriptions exhibit some forms of letters (such as *m* with unjoined middle, the cursive *h* and the looped *s*, which are believed to have become current in the

1 Mr R D Banerji drew attention to the date of a Mathurā Brahmī inscription which he took as indicating a compromise between solar month dates and season dates He read the date as *Vijaya rājya saṁ 100 10 3 Ka[rttika Hema*]*nta m [sa 3] di[va]sa 20* (*Ep Ind*, Vol II p 210 and *Ind. Ant* Vol XXXVII p 46) But the facsimile shows that the reading *Hemanta* is extremely uncertain Incidentally it may be pointed out that the date of the record appears to be 110 not 113 Mr A Ghosh mentions three season dates of the Gupta period but they too are not certain Of these the first one, *viz* the date of the Kosam inscription of Bhīmavarman (year 139) refers to the same era as those of the other Kosam inscriptions of this dynasty as shown above The date of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II is not a season date as shown by Dr Bhandarkar As there was an intercalary month in the Gupta year 61 Dr Bhandarkar's suggestion that the lost letters of the date were *Ashāḍha māse* is quite plausible As for the date of the Mathurā inscription No XXXVIII *(Ep Ind* Vol II p 210*)* its attribution to the Gupta period rests only on palæographic evidence which is not quite certain See also *J R A S* for 1903 p 11 In South India the custom of using season dates lingered much longer, for we have some records of the Vākatakas and Vishṇukuṇḍins of the fifth and sixth centuries A D which have season dates See *Ep Ind* Vol III p 262, Vol IV p 197 Vol XVII p 339, etc

2 *An Rep A S I* for 1911 12 pp 34 51, 66 ff

Gupta period, the general appearance of their characters is pre-Gupta. The evidence of language and the manner of dating is also against this theory as stated above.

(II) The *second theory*, which has been advocated by Dr. Jayaswal, and Messrs. N. G. Majumdar, A. Ghosh and Krishna Deva, refers these *dates to the* **Chedi era.** *It is pointed* out that these Kosam records show greater maturity than is evident in the Kushāṇa, *without approximating to the Gupta in* cursiveness.[1] They thus belong to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta. The system *of dating* and the mixed nature of the language are also believed to point to the same period. These records are, therefore, assigned to 'some time from the third to the fourth century A.D.' The only era in this period to which the dates could be referred is the Chēdi era of A.D. 248-49.

This theory has much plausibility and the fact that some of these records come from that part of the country which in ancient *times was known as Chēdi lends colour to it. The* origin of the Chēdi era is still uncertain. The earliest certain date[2] of this era so far known is the year *207* recorded in the Pārḍi plates of the Traikūṭaka Dahrasena. The era was current in Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ, and northern Mahārāshṭra down to the beginning of the eighth century A D. It is found used in the records of the Traikūṭakas, Kalachuris, Western Chālukyas and their feudatories. Later on, it was taken by the Kalachuris to Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh when they founded their kingdoms there. But no dates of the first two centuries of this era have been found till now. The discovery of these Kosam records which apparently belong to the *third* or *fourth* century A.D. seemed to supply the early dates of the era which had *been missing so far.*

This theory does not, however, appear to be convincing; for, if these dates are referred to the *Chēdi era, Bhadramagha,*

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, 255.

2. *The dates of the Uchchakalpa records which are earlier are* referred by some to the Chēdi era. but this does not seem to be the correct view. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff. Also No. 22, below.

Vaiśravana and Bhīmavarman become the contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors, Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II That the Guptas extended their sway to Allahabad and the Ganges-Jumna Doab soon after their rise appears clear from an oft-quoted statement in the *Purānas*[1] If these rulers of Kauśāmbī (36 miles from Allahabad) were ruling in the fourth century A D, they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas It seems strange therefore that none of these records mentions the name of any Gupta overlord The explanation that these are private records will not avail, because even when Vaiśravana records his excavation of a cave at Bāndhogarh he does not name any suzerain Secondly, it does not appear credible that the Gupta Emperors allowed these feudatories to strike coins in their own names The Guptas seemed to have valued highly the Imperial prerogative of issuing their own coinage, for, instead of allowing the coins of the Kushānas to circulate in their kingdom, they issued a varied and magnificent coinage of their own When Chandragupta II exterminated the Western Śaka Satraps and annexed Malwā and Kāthiāwād, he issued fresh silver coins to meet the needs of the people of the newly acquired provinces It may be urged that the coins of these Kauśāmbī kings are all of copper, while no copper coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta have yet been found[2] The first Gupta king whose copper coins have been discovered is Chandragupta II[3] Chandragupta I and Samudragupta may therefore have allowed these coins to circulate in their kingdom for the sake of convenience But this argument does not explain why Bhīmavarman who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II was allowed to strike coins in his own name From inscriptional records we know of some

1. Anu Gangā Prayāgam cha Śāketam Magadhāms-tathā ||
ētān janapadān sarvān bhokshyante Gupta vamśajāḥ || Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p 53

2 Allan *Catalogue of Indian Coins Gupta Dynasties* p lxxxvii Prof C J Brown thinks that Samudragupta did not mint copper coins because in the time of the Guptas the bazars must have been full of Kushāna copper money *The Coins of India* p 4

3 R. D Banerji states in his *Age of the Imperial Guptas* (p 214) that he saw two copper coins of Samudragupta They have not been published

feudatories of the Guptas, but the coins of none of them have been found. It is extremely unlikely that the Guptas made an exception in the case of these feudatories of Kauśāmbī.

(III) The third theory is that these dates refer to the Kushāṇa era founded by Kanishka. The palæographical evidence detailed above shows that these Kosam records must be classed with the Kushāṇa and this has indeed been admitted even by the advocates of the second theory. But they point out that some of the letters, *viz.*, *m*, *s* and *h*, have more developed forms which are usually met with in Gupta records. It is not, however, realised that if these dates are referred to the Chēdi era, the resemblances should be many more and striking; for Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become then the contemporaries of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The stone pillar on which Harishēṇa's *praśasti* of Samudragupta is incised is believed to have originally stood at Kauśāmbī itself.[1] The inscription was incised about A. D. 360,[2] *i. e.* somewhat earlier than the inscription of Vaiśravaṇa and much earlier than those of Bhīmavarman. A comparison of Harishēṇa's *praśasti* with the Kosam records will show that its characters are much more developed than those of the latter. It exhibits throughout the looped *n*, *sh* and *s*; the right verticals of *g*, *t* and *ś* are elongated and the letters are generally cursive, instead of being squat and square. In all these respects the letters of the Kosam records, especially those of Bhīmavarman's inscription dated in the year 130, present decidedly early forms approximating those of the Kushāṇa. As for the letters *m* and *h*, it may be pointed out that the so-called eastern Gupta forms of these occur much earlier than the age of the Guptas and as far west as Mathurā and Jasdan in

1. *C. I. I.*, Vol III, p. 2.

2. V. A. Smith. *Early History of India* (third ed.), p 282. This *praśasti* does not mention Samudragupta's performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. According to Dr. H. R. Divekar, the expression *kripaṇa dīn anātha-ātura-jan-oddharaṇa-ma(ntr)ttra dīkshā abhyupagata manasaḥ* in l 26 indicates the intention of Samudragupta to perform the sacrifice. (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. VII p 165.) But this is incorrect. *Sattra-dīkshā* is used there only for a metaphorical description, the figure being *rūpaka*. For an exactly similar idea see *āpann-ābhaya-sattrēshu dīkshitāḥ khalu Pauravāḥ* in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*, Act II, v. 16.

Kāṭhiāwād Bühler pointed out long ago that the looped form of *s* occurs throughout in a Mathurā inscription dated in the year 20 of the era of Kanishka [1] Dr D R Bhandarakar has recently drawn attention to the occurrence of the so-called eastern forms of *m* and *h* in a Western Kshatrapa record of Śaka 127 (A D 205) [2] The Gupta forms of these letters were thus not unknown in the second and third centuries A D

But it may be objected that these forms occur only sporadically in the aforementioned records of the Kushāṇa period They do not show that these forms had become current at the time. To prove this we must have some record which definitely belongs to the Kushāna period and exhibits *all* these forms together as in the Kosam inscriptions under consideration Such a record is not difficult to find I draw attention to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the reign of Kanishka [3] The characters of this inscription closely resemble those of the Kosam records They include the so-called Eastern Gupta forms of the letters *m*, *s* and *h* In other respects, such as the forms of the medial vowels, of *n*, *t*, *ι*, *sh* etc , they are akin to other Kushāna records, though they are somewhat more cursive The date of this record should give a clue to the age of the Kosam records under discussion

This Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Devaputra* Kanishka It is dated on the 10th day of Pausha in the year 54 [4] As shown elsewhere this Kanishka must be identified with Kanishka II whose Ārā inscription is dated in the year 41 The date 54 must of course be referred to the era started by Kanishka I The beginning of this era is still uncertain, but most scholars are now in favour of identifying it with the Śaka era of A D 78 [5] In view of the similarity of the characters used in this Mathura pedestal inscription of the year

1 *Ep Ind* Vol I pp 372 73

2 *Ep Ind* Vol XXI pp 2 f

3 *Ibid* Vol XIX pp 96 f and plate See also No 14 above

4 See for the discussion on the date of this record above No 14

5 Dr Sten Konow places the beginning of this era in A D 128–29 (*C I I* Vol II, pt i p xciv)

54 and the Kosam records of the years 52—139, it seems certain that all these records are dated in the same era, *viz.*, the Kushāṇa era founded by Kanishka. And this is but natural; for Kanishka carried his arms as far as Pāṭaliputra in the east. In the south his empire extended at least up to the Narmadā. His era seems to have been current throughout his extensive empire long after his death. Inscriptions dated in it have been found at Sārnāth in the east, Sāñchī in the south and Wardak near Kābul in the north-west. Once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to use it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harsha continued to be used long after him, though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. We do not know who founded the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era.[1] But it was used in Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāshṭra for several centuries after the memory of its founder had faded from the public mind. The same thing must have happened in the case of the Kushāṇa era.

It is not known if the Vatsa and Chēdi countries were included in the Kushāṇa Empire during the reign of Huvishka; for no inscriptions of the king have been found there.[2] R. D. Banerji conjectured from the absence of Kushāṇa records between the years 60 and 74 that during the last years of Huvishka's reign the Kushāṇa Empire in India was convulsed by civil wars and revolution.[3] If the kings of Kauśāmbī were at first feudatories of the Kushāṇas, they must have asserted their independence

1. Though this era is usually called the Chēdi era, it does not seem that it originated in the Chēdi country; for, its early dates come from the Bombay State The name *Chēdi-samvat* occurs for the first time in a record of the year 919 (A. D. 1167-68) from Chhattisgarh. It was *then* current in the Chēdi country In an earlier record of the year 831 (A. D. 1079) the date is introduced with the words *Chēdi-samvat* evidently because *it* was used by the Kalachuris who were then ruling over *the Chēdi country. The connection of the Kalachuris with this era does* not go before the year 347 (A. D. 595). See *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp xxii f.

2. It is conjectured from the discovery of the impression of a medal of Huvishka under the Vajrāsana throne inside the temple of Bodh Gayā that the Empire of Huvishka included Bihar (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 60.)

3. R. D. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 131.

in this period No inscriptions of the reign of Vāsudeva have been found outside the Mathurā region The kings of Kauśāmbī may therefore have been virtually independent during his time After the death of Vāsudeva, there was no power in North India which could have held them in subjection till the rise of the Guptas

The last known king of this line is Vijayamagha, but we need not suppose that the dynasty ended with him His successors may have continued to rule at least over the territory round Kauśāmbī till the rise of the Guptas Balavarman who is mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* as one of the rulers of Āryāvarta (North India) exterminated by Samudragupta may have been ruling at Kauśāmbi His name does not of course end in *magha*, but this presents no difficulty, for *magha* was not the invariable suffix of the names of these kings R D Banerji proposed to identify this Balavarman with the homonymous ancestor of Bhāskaravarman of Assam [1] But the identification does not appear to be correct for two reasons Firstly, Bhāskaravarman was ninth in descent from Balavarman From the *Harshacharita* he seems to have come to the throne about A D 600 Taking 25 years as the average period of each reign, we find that this Balavarman of Assam must have ruled from *circa* A D 375 to 400 He was thus a contemporary of Chandragupta II, not of Samudragupta Secondly we find Kamarupa (Assam) included in the list of border kingdoms, the ruler of which paid homage and tribute to Samudragupta Its ruler was not therefore exterminated by the Gupta Emperor

Balavarman is therefore more likely to have been a ruler of Central India who was overthrown and whose territory was annexed by Samudragupta He may have been ruling at Kauśambi That Kauśambi was directly under the rule of the Guptas appears clear not only from the aforementioned statement

1. R D Banerji *Age of the Imperial Guptas* p 13 K P Jayaswal on the other hand suggested that Balavarman was the second or *abhisheka* name of Kalyāṇavarman who is mentioned as the ruler of Pataliputra in the *Kaumudimahotsava* see his *History of India* etc p 142 but the historicity of the drama is not above suspicion

in the *Purāṇas* about the extent of the Gupta kingdom, but also from the *praśasti* on the stone pillar at Allahabad, which seems to have originally stood at Kauśāmbī.

Thus the theory that the dates of these Kings of Kauśāmbī *refer to the Kushāṇa or (Śaka) era presents no difficulties.*[1] *It* harmonises all data satisfactorily and squares with our present knowledge of the history of Central India in the pre-Gupta period.

1. *The view that these kings flourished in the second and third centuries* A. D. has also been supported by Mr. G. S. Chatterji (*Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff.), Dr. Motichandra (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.) and Dr. Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff).

16 FURTHER LIGHT ON RĀMAGUPTA*

In his interesting article entitled 'A new Gupta King,'[1] Professor A S Altekar has cited and discussed the following passage from the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara—

> दत्त्वा रुद्धगति खसाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीं
> यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निववृते श्रीशर्म(? । सेन)गुप्तो नृप ।
> तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणक्वणत्किन्नरे
> गीयन्ते तव कार्त्तिकेय । नगरस्त्रीणा गणै कीर्तय: ॥

In discussing the bearing of this passage on his reconstruction of Gupta history he has remarked as follows —"The verse is addressed to Kārttikeya, who is obviously Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty Kumāra and Kārttikeya are synonyms, peacock is the *vāhana* of the deity and we know that Kumāragupta has struck some coins of the peacock variety The unknown poet of this stanza is contrasting the prosperous condition of the house under Kumāragupta with the dire distress to which it was reduced under Śarmagupta '[2] As the version of the incident given in this verse differs in some material points from the account of the same found in the works of Bāna, Viśākhadatta and Śaṅkarārya, Prof Altekar is constrained to add as follows[3] —"Unfortunately we do not know who the author of this verse was, when he flourished and whether he had any reliable historic tradition to rely upon, and, again, "it is not therefore unlikely that with a desire of having a romantic back ground and developing a poetic contrast, he may have permitted himself a little liberty with history by changing the name Śaka into Khasa '

These two statements involve a contradiction which Prof Altekar has failed to notice The verse cited above was evidently composed by some poet who was a contemporary of

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* *Indian Antiquary* vol LXII pp 201 f

1 *J B O R S* Vol XIV part ii p 223

2 *Ibid* p 242 3 *Ibid* p 243

Kârttikeya, who is addressed[1] and whose exploits are praised therein. If this Kârttikeya was Kumâragupta I, his court poet had undoubtedly 'reliable historical tradition to rely upon.' We must, therefore, suppose that he wilfully took liberty with history and that his contemporaries had so completely forgotten the incident in Râmagupta's life within the short period of one generation that they allowed the poet to do so. Such a supposition is, however, unwarranted. If we read the verse carefully, we would find that the king Kârttikeya who is eulogised therein must have belonged to some other dynasty. No court poet of the Guptas would have thought of making such a contrast, and thereby focussing people's attention on that deplorable incident. As in the Sanjân plates, the author of this verse is evidently referring to some king of another dynasty who achieved glorious success where Râmagupta ignominiously failed. Who then is this Kârttikeya ? No early king of this name is known to history. The *Chaṇḍakauśika* of Āryakshemîśvara, which was staged before a king named Mahîpâla, mentions his other name as Kârttikeya in the Bharatavâkya.[2] Scholars are divided on the question of the identity of this Mahîpâla. Professor Sten Konow,[3] Keith[4] and S K. Aiyangar[5] take him to

1. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has discussed this question in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* (p. 194) takes कार्त्तिकेयनगर as one word and locates it near the village Baijnâth in the Almorâ district U. P. According to him, the verse is addressed to Chandragupta, who is not named therein. This is hardly convincing. We must remember that Râjaśekhara has cited the verse as a type of *muktaka*, which means a detached stanza, complete in itself. When such stanzas are addressed to kings, their names are generally inserted in them. See, for instance, the 194 stanzas in praise of various kings collected in the *Subhāshita-ratna bhāṇḍāgāra*, Nirṇaya Sāgar Ed., pp. 118-178). We must, therefore, take *Kārttikeya* as vocative and try to locate the scene of the event in some other way.

2. येनादिश्य प्रयोगं घनपुलकभृता नाटकस्यास्य हर्षाद्
वस्त्रालङ्कारहेम्नां प्रतिदिनमकृशा राशयः सम्प्रदत्ताः ।
तस्य क्षत्रप्रसूतेर्भ्रमतु जगदिदं कार्त्तिकेयस्य कीर्तिः
पारे क्षीराख्यसिन्धोरपि कवियशसा सार्धमेतत्परेण ॥

3. *Das indische Drama*, p. 86. 4. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 239.

5. *J.I.H.*, II, p. 341.

be of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj while Prof R D Banerji[1] identifies him with Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal The latter view is, however, impossible for the following reasons —

(1) Mahīpāla I of Bengal was a Buddhist, and was not therefore likely to be transported with joy as described in this drama over the story of Hariścandra There is no peculiar Buddhistic trait anywhere in the drama—neither in the *nāndī*, nor in the body of the play

(2) None of the inscriptions of this Mahīpāla give Kārttikeya as his other name

(3) This Mahīpāla of Bengal is not known to have been hostile to the Karnāṭas In the *Chandakauśika*, however, the Sūtradhāra quotes the following *gāthā*, which he says is known to those who are conversant with tradition —

यः संश्रित्य प्रकृतिगहनामार्यचाणक्यनीतिं
जित्वा नन्दान् कुसुमनगरं चन्द्रगुप्तो जिगाय ।
कर्णाटत्वं ध्रुवमुपगतानद्य तानेव हन्तुं
दोर्दर्पाढ्यः स पुनरभवच्छ्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥

The late Prof R D Banerji tried to explain this verse as referring to the invasion of Bengal by Rājendra Chola, for 'in those days the people of Bengal could not distinguish between Kannadas and Tāmils This argument is not convincing It is more probable indeed almost certain that Mahīpāla of the *Chandakauśika* was the first king of that name in the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj for (1) we know that he was a follower of Hinduism He calls himself a devotee of the Sun in his inscriptions But he was not a sectarian for he secured the image of Vaikuntha (Vishnu) which was afterwards placed in a beautiful temple at Khajurāho The Pratihāras called themselves *Sūryavaṃśis* and traced their descent from Lakshmana the brother of Rāma It is but natural that Mahīpāla I should be overjoyed to see the life of one of his illustrious ancestors Harischandra represented on the stage as described in the

1 *JBORS* XIV part i p 520

Chaṇḍakauśika. (2) Like his father and grandfather, Mahîpâla I bore several names, Harsha,[1] Vinâyakapâla and Herambapâla.[2] He was also probably known as Chaṇḍapâla. Chaṇḍapâla is the hero of the Prakrit drama *Karpûramañjarî* of his court poet Râjaśekhara. He is also probably referred to by the alternative title *Prachaṇḍapâṇḍava* of Râjaśekhara's other drama, *Bâlabhârata*, which was staged before him. Âryakshemîśvara also seems to refer to him by the *chaṇḍa* in the title *Chaṇḍakauśika* of his Sanskrit play. Both *chaṇḍa* and *prachaṇḍa* are used several times in the two dramas *Chaṇḍakauśika* and *Prachaṇḍapâṇḍava*. It is again in the fitness of things that Mahîpâla I, the son of Nirbhayarâja (Mahendrapâla), should call himself Chaṇḍapâla. Now *Chaṇḍa* is one of the names of *Kârttikeya*,[3] and so it is no matter for surprise that Âryakshemîśvara calls him Kârttikeya in the *Bharatavâkya*. The verse from the *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* cited at the beginning of this article describes one Kârttikeya who was either a predecessor or a contemporary of *Râjaśekhara*. As stated above, no king of that name is known to have flourished before the age of Râjaśekhara. It follows, therefore, that this Kârttikeya is no other than Mahîpâla I of Kanauj. It may at first sight seem strange that Mahîpâla should be known by three such names as Harsha, Herambapâla and Kârttikeya, denoting the three deities Śiva, Gaṇapati and Kârttikeya. But we have an analogous instance in his grandfather, Bhoja, being called Mihira (the Sun) and Âdivarâha (Viṣṇu).

(3) The *gāthā* in the *Chaṇḍakauśika* speaks of Mahīpāla's hostility to the Karṇātas. We know that Mahīpāla I of Kanauj was obliged to leave his capital when it was devastated by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III.[4] Mahīpāla afterwards regained his throne with the help of a Chandella king, who was either Harsha or his son, Yaśovarman. Āryakṣemīśvara has evidently composed or incorporated the *gāthā* in his play to please his royal patron,

1. *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p 139. 2. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 134.

3. *Chaṇḍa* is included in the names of *Kārttikeya* 'well-known in three worlds' in the *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvan*, *adhyāya*, 232 (Bom Ed.).

4. The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, *E. I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 26-47.

who must have been smarting under his humiliating defeat. The Karnātas mentioned in that *gāthā* are evidently the Kanarese Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhed, who were again assisted by his Kanarese feudatory, Arikesarin Chālukya, as stated by the Kanarese poet Pampa

We have thus seen that Kārttikeya whose exploits are described in the verse from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* was Mahipala I of Kanauj But did this king ever bring any part of the Himalayan territory under his sway? Professor R D Banerji considered him incapable of any conquest[1] It is no doubt true that Mahīpala's power declined towards the end of his reign, owing probably to the conquests of Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri and Yaśovarman Chandella But we have no evidence to suppose that he made no conquests On the other hand, the Khajurāho inscription[2] of Yaśovarman states that Mahipala had secured the image of Vaikuntha from a Sāhi king of Kabul and the Panjab on the strength of his army of horses and elephants Rājaśekhara speaks of several wars of Mahīpāla in the following verse in the *Prachandapāndava* —

नामतमुरलमौलि पाकलो मेकलानां रणकलितकलिङ्ग केलितट् केरलेन्दो ।
अजनि जितकुलूत कुन्तलानां कुठारो हठहृतरमठश्री श्रीमहीपालदेव ॥

One of these wars was against the king of Kulūta Kulūta was a kingdom on the right bank of the Sutlej, south east of Kashmīr and north east of Jālandhara[3] One of these conquests may have been described in the verse in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*

The next question that presents itself in connection with that verse is, how far is the version of the incident about Dhruvasvamini given in that verse historical? Professor Altekar is of opinion that the author of that verse took some liberty with history in describing it in that way We may readily agree with him when he says that *dattvā* in that verse should be taken to

1 *J B O R S*, vol XIV p 510

2 कैलासाद्भोटनाथ सुहृदिति च तत कीरराज प्रपेदे, साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विप-तुरगबलेनाथ हेरम्बपाल । तत्सूनोर्देवपालात्तमथ हयपते प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां वैकुण्ठं कुण्ठितारि क्षितिधरतिलक श्रीयशोवर्मराज ॥

3 Cf Cunningham *Ancient Geography of India*, p 163.

mean *dātum anumatya*, for Dhruvasvāminī was never actually handed over to the enemy. Rāmagupta only consented to do it as stated in the *Devī-Chandragupta*. The author of that verse had to compress so much matter into four lines that he may have taken that liberty. His purpose was to bring out a contrast between the glorious success of Mahīpāla and the ignominious failure of Rāmagupta, and it was immaterial whether the queen was actually handed over to the enemy or whether that calamity was averted. But in other respects the verse may be taken to state the version of the incident as it was traditionally known at the time. It would lose all its point if the incident about Dhruvasvāminī and the conquest of Mahīpāla had occurred in different places—the former at the capital of Rāmagupta in the plains, and the latter in the Himālayan hills. Besides, the context in which that verse occurs in the *Kāryamīmāṁsā* shows that it was based on tradition (*kathottha*). Like Bāṇa, Rājaśekhara also had historical sense. It is unlikely that he would cite a verse to illustrate how a present incident should be described by putting it in relation to a past event known from tradition, if the tradition had been materially changed or distorted in that verse.

After all, have we got incontrovertible evidence to prove that the version of the incident given in the *Kāryamīmāṁsā* is incorrect? It states that Rāmagupta went on an adventurous expedition to a Himālayan country. His progress was checked, and he had to retreat ignominiously after handing over Dhruvasvāminī to a Khasa king. This account is not contradicted by any passages cited by Professor Altekar. None of them gives us any clue as to the scene of the incident. Professor Altekar supposes that it was in the dominions of Rāmagupta on the ground that in one of the passages Rāmagupta is represented as having consented to hand over Dhruvadevī to the Śaka king for the safety of the people (*prakriti*).[1] From the verse in the *Kāryamīmāṁsā*, however, it appears that Rāmagupta was accompanied by his family, and possibly by his minister and other

1. प्रकृतीनामाश्वासनाय शकस्य ध्रुवदेवीसंप्रदानेऽभ्युपगते राज्ञा रामगुप्तेन अरिवधार्थं यियासुः प्रतिपन्नध्रुवदेवीनेपथ्यः कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तो विज्ञापयन्नुच्यते ।

retinue, when he entered the Himālayan country It is these people whom Rāmagupta wanted to save In a passage from the *Devī Chandragupta* quoted in the *Sringāraprakāśa*[1] cited by Professor Altekar the place where the incident occurred is called Alipura As Mr R Saraswati[2] has pointed out, this is corroborated by the passage in the *Harshacharita*[3] where the reading *aripura* is evidently a mistake for *alipura* If this view is not accepted, there would be tautology in the expression *satroh skandhāvāram alipuram* Again, *skandhāvāra* does not necessarily denote a camp It means also a capital[4] So the expression can be taken to mean 'Alipura, the capital of the enemy' This *Alipura* must have been situated somewhere in or near the ancient country of Kuluta[5] It is also possible that the real name of the capital was Nalinapura, as stated in a manuscript of the *Harshcharita*. If so, it may be identified with the Teng-kuang mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, which was apparently a little to the west of the modern Jalalabad' As Watters has pointed out, one name for the city was Padmapura ('lotus city') which is only a synonym of Nalinapura It is easy to imagine how Nalinapura was in course of time read as Alipura and then as Aripura As we have seen above, Mahipāla had conquered Sāhi, the king of Kābul and the Panjab and forced him to surrender a beautiful image of Vishnu The identification of Nalinapura with Hiuen Tsang's *Teng kuang* is, therefore, supported by the passage in the *Kāvyamimāmsa* as well

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1 स्त्रीवेषनिह्नुतश्चन्द्रगुप्त शत्रो स्कन्धावारमलिपुर शकपतिवधायागमत् | *Ind Ant*, Vol LI p 183

2 *Ibid*

3 अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुक कामिनीवेषगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्त शकपतिमशातयत् |

4 Cf *Harshacharita* p 153 (Nirnaya S gara Ed)

5 Mr K P Jayaswal also locates the place in the Doāb of Jalandhara —*J B O R S* XVIII p 29

In support of my suggestion I may also refer to what S r A Cunningham wrote regarding the ancient capital of Kuluta in his *Ancient Geography of India* (p 163) — The present capital of the valley is Sultānpur but the old capital of Makarsa is still called Nagar or the city, by which name it is most generally known '

In the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* the enemy who reduced Rāmagupta to dire distress is called Khasa, while almost all other authorities name him Śaka. As we have seen, the author of this verse flourished in the tenth century, when the Khasas were ruling in Nepal. They are mentioned in an inscription at Khajurāho[1] as vanquished by Yaśovarman Chandella. If the correct reading is Khasa, we have here an instance of anachronism; for, as Professor Altekar points out, the Khasas were not so powerful in the fourth century as to dictate terms to Rāmagupta. It is, however, more likely that Śaka is the correct reading. Rājaśekhara, who was well read, must have known this incident from the *Devī-Chandragupta* and other works, and is not likely to have quoted a verse in which the tradition was distorted. In that case the Śaka enemy must have been the Kushāṇa king who is referred to as Daivaputra Shāhī Shāhānushāhī in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. We know that the Kushāṇas were ruling over the Panjāb and Kābul till the fifth century A. D.[2]

Let us next consider the objection that Professor Altekar has raised against the above identification. He says: "Chandragupta II must have taken the first opportunity to retrieve the honour of his house by destroying or at least defeating the Kushanas . . . . . But are there any indications of Chandragupta II having led any military expedition in the Panjab? None whatsoever." But this absence of evidence is at best a negative argument, and is not conclusive. Unfortunately, we have very little knowledge of the events in Chandragupta's reign. He may, for all we know, have proceeded against the Kushāṇa king and reduced him to submission but spared his life, as later on Harsha seems to have done in the case of Śaśāṅka. There is no evidence to suppose that the war against the Satraps of Ujjayinī was the first campaign in which he was engaged. We know that the Satraps continued to rule in Mālwā till A. D. 388 at least, i.e., for more than ten years after Chandragupta's accession. During this period he may have been occupied in other places e.g., in the Panjāb and Kashmīr, subjugating the Kushāṇas.

1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 183.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

17. CHANDRAGUPTA-VIKRAMĀDITYA AND GOVINDA IV*

In the Sāngali[1] and Cambay plates[2] of Govinda IV there occurs the following verse about that Rāshṭrakūṭa king :—

सामर्थ्ये सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवाग्रजे क्रूरता
बन्धुस्त्रीगमनादिभिः कुचरितैरावर्ज्जितं नायशः।
शौचाशौचपराङ्मुखं न च भिया पैशाच्यमङ्गीकृतं
त्यागेनासमसाहसैश्च भुवने यः साहसाङ्कोऽभवत्॥

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has translated the above verse as follows :— "Ignominious cruelty was not practised (by him) with regard to his elder brother, (though he) had the power; (he) did not obtain infamy by evil courses such as (illicit) intercourse with the wives of his relatives; (he) did not, through fear, resort to diabolical conduct which is indifferent to what is pure and impure; (and) by his munificence and unparalleled heroic deeds he became Sāhasāṅka in the world."[3] This verse has puzzled many historians. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has, for instance, remarked in his *Early History of the Deccan*,[4] 'What this statement exactly means it is difficult to say.' It is, however, now possible to give a satisfactory explanation of it in the light of recent researches in the Gupta history. *Sāhasāṅka* in that verse means Vikramāditya and undoubtedly refers to Chandragupta II, who assumed that title. The composer of that verse says that Govinda IV resembled Sāhasāṅka only in liberality and unparalleled daring, but not in his evil actions. The first three lines of the verse enumerate three such actions committed by Sāhasāṅka, i. e. Chandragupta II, viz. that he acted cruelly towards his brother, had illicit intercourse with his wife[5] and undertook actions becoming an evil spirit, devoid of all considerations of purity and impurity. The first two lines of the

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* *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, pp. 49 f.

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249. 2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 36.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, 44 4. 3rd. ed., p. 125.

5. It is now clear that बन्धुस्त्री in the second line must be translated as 'his brother's *wife*' and *not* as 'the *wives* of his relatives' as Dr. Fleet and Dr. Bhandarkar have done.

verse thus corroborate the conclusion already arrived at on the evidence of a verse in the Sanjān copper plates of Amoghavarsha I[1] and the story of Rawāl and Barkamāris in the *Majmalu-t-Tawārikh*, that Chandragupta II killed his brother and married his wife [2] The third line also receives remarkable corroboration from a passage in the *Devi Chandragupta* discovered by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi [3]

That passage indicates how Chandragupta conceived the plan of going to the Śaka king in the guise of a woman and killing him when he was unguarded The introductory note in Sanskrit which summarizes the context of the pasage shows that Chandragupta had made up his mind to win over a Vampire (Vetāla) at night as a last resort, when every other means of rescuing Ramagupta's camp had proved of no avail It was necessary for that purpose to go to a cemetery, but egress from the camp was impossible, as they were besieged on all sides by the enemy's forces While Chandragupta was thinking of some device to go out of the camp, there came a maid servant of some

1 *Ep Ind*, vol XVIII p 248

2 *J B O R S*, Vol XV, 138

3 This is cited by Dr D R Bhandarkar in his article 'New Light on the Early Gupta History' in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* p 207

यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते शकपतिना पर कृच्छ्रमापादित रामगुप्तस्कन्धावारमनुजिघृक्षु उपायान्तरागोचरे प्रतिकारे निशि वेतालसाधनमध्यवस्यन् कुमारचन्द्रगुप्त आत्रेयण विदूषकेणोक्त । विदु०—भो सक्क दाणि भवदा इमाये वेलाय मन्ते दारआण सआसादो पदादो पद वि गतु ।

नायक (स्वगतम्)—अनोपायश्चिन्तनीय. ।

(प्रविश्य चेटी पटलकहस्ता) ।

चेटी—जयदु जयदु कुमारो । कुमार कहिं अज्जुआ "[?] अज्ज खु अज्जुआ केणवि कारणेन अअं विमणा कुमारं पेक्खामित्ति भणती राअउत्तादो णिक्कन्ता । इमं च से देवीए धुवदेवीए ससरीरपरिभुत्तं पसाहणअं पसादीकद । गहीअ कुमारस्स समीपे अज्जुअ अत्ति मण्णमाणा आगदह्मि अवत्ते अ पेक्खामि इमं जाव अज्जुअं अण्णेसामि (निष्क्रान्ता) ।

विदु०—आ दासीए दूधे । कि तव अह भण्डागारिओ [?] गच्छ पच्छेहि (इति यवनिकान्तरित स्त्रीवेषं कृत्वा निष्कान्त) तदेवं अन्यथा निर्गमनोपाये चिन्त्यमाने स्त्रीवेष, साधनमुपागतमिति ।

lady, probably Mādhavasenā, with a bundle of garments and ornaments of Queen Dhruvasvāminī which she had sent with her as presents for her mistress. Not finding her there, the Cheṭī kept the articles with Chandragupta's companion Vidūshaka and herself went out in search of her lady.[1] The presence of Dhruvasvāminī's garments suggested to Chandragupta the idea of going out of the camp in the guise of a woman. Whether he actually went to the cemetery and won over a Vetāla, the passage does not tell us. Here the verse in the Sāngali and Cambay plates cited above comes to our help. The third line refers to some actions of Chandragupta, befitting an evil spirit and devoid of all considerations of purity and impurity. Evidently we have here a reference to such actions involving impurity as going to a cemetery and offering human flesh etc. to propitiate evil spirits.[2] Readers of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* will remember the scene (Act V) in that drama in which Mādhava, the hero, despairing of getting Mālatī goes to a cemetery and offers human flesh to the evil spirits haunting that place, evidently to secure their help to win his lady-love. Did Chandragupta succeed in winning over a Vetāla? Did the latter suggest to him the ruse of going to the Śaka king in the guise of Dhruvadevī? These questions cannot be answered definitely in the absence of more information from the *Devī Chandragupta* or some other source. But it is likely that subsequent events happened as indicated above. The association of a Vetāla with a Vikramāditya in the traditional stories recorded in the *Bṛihatkathā* and its Sanskrit versions, would support the conjecture that the plot of the *Devī-Chandragupta* was developed on these lines. The poet who composed the above stanza in the Sāngali and Cambay charters of Govinda IV has evidently drawn upon the *Devī-Chandragupta* for his remarks about Chandragupta.

1. There is no ground for Dr. Bhandarkar's statement (*op cit.*, p. 197) that the Cheṭī was directed to go to Chandragupta with the garments by some Ajjukā of the royal family.

2. Cf. वीरहस्तान्मांसं गृहीत्वा वीरायाभिमतवरदानमिति श्मशानसिद्धयोगिनीमतम्। Jagaddhara. (*Mālatīmādhava*, Act IV). See *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Nirṇayasāgar ed.), pp. 393, 571 etc.

There is one more point which strikes us as we read the above verse It has been suggested that the conduct of Chandragupta in marrying his brother's wife was not at all opposed to the law laid down in the Smṛtis.[1] The present verse shows that whatever may have been the state of things in the hoary antiquity of the Dharmasūtras, the union with a dead brother's wife was considered reprehensible in the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era[2] Was it tolerated in the Gupta age in consideration of Chandragupta's unparalleled daring and his valuable services in the cause of Hinduism ?

We have so far discussed this verse from the point of view of the early Gupta history It has also a bearing on the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas which we now proceed to consider

Referring to the contents of the present verse Dr Sir R G Bhandarkar wrote in his *Early History of the Deccan*. 'What this statement exactly means it is difficult to say But probably Govinda was believed to have encompassed his brother s death and the other accusations were whispered against him and this is intended as a defence' Dr D R Bhandarkar also has drawn similar inferences while editing the Cambay plates We have to see how far they are warranted by the evidence now available

As already remarked, the composer of the present verse intended to show by comparison and contrast that his patron Govinda IV was superior to the well known Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikramaditya There were, indeed, several points of similarity between these two kings Indra III, the father of Govinda IV, was, like Samudragupta, a very ambitious king Just as Samudragupta led a victorious campaign in the south,

1 *Mal Com Vol* p 203

2 And so it was even in the Gupta age The passages from the Nārada Smṛti cited by Dr Bhandarkar evidently refer to *niyoga* Cf *Manu* ज्येष्ठो यवीयसो भार्यां यवीयान् वाग्रजस्त्रियम् । पतितौ भवतो गत्वा नियुक्तावप्यनापदि ॥ ... यस्या म्रियेत कन्याया वाचा सत्ये कृते पतिः । तामनेन विधानेन निजो विन्देत देवरः ॥ यथाविध्यधिगम्यैनां शुक्लवस्त्रां शुचिव्रताम् । मिथो भजेताप्रसवात्सकृत्सकृदृतावृतौ ॥ IX, 58, 69–70

vanquishing a number of kings, so Indra III, though he had a much shorter reign, carried his arms to the Imperial capital of Kânauj and devastated it, ousting the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahīpāla I.[1] As Samudragupta was succeeded by Rāmgupta, who had a very short reign, so Indra III was followed by Amoghavarsha II, who also reigned for a very short time; for he is assigned a reign of one year only in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita.[2] The Deoli and Karhād plates of Krishna III also say that he went to heaven soon after his father's death, as if out of love for him.[3] Again, Govinda IV was, like Chandragupta II, known for his liberality and daring. As Dr. Bhandarkar has shown, "he had by his munificence earned for himself the *biruda* Suvarṇavarsha. In the Cambay plates he is said to have weighed himself against gold, bestowed upon Brāhmaṇas no less than six hundred grants, together with three lacs of Suvarṇas and granted, for repairing temples and feeding and clothing ascetics, eight hundred villages, four lacs of suvarṇas and thirty two lacs of drammas. Such exuberant liberality no other prince of the Rashṭrakūṭa dynasty ever displayed so far as their records inform us."[4] We have no detailed account of his daring deeds but we have no reason to doubt the veracity of the poet's description.[5] It is no wonder, therefore, that Govinda IV became known in the world as Sāhasāṅka or Vikramāditya.

The poet assures us, however, that his patron did not resemble Chandragupta in all respects. The latter had, for instance, committed three contemptible actions, while Govinda IV did none of these things. Dr. R. D. Bhandarkar thinks that this is a case of protesting too much and Govinda IV, if not actually caused, at any rate hastened, the death of his elder brother and usurped his throne. Govinda IV led, indeed, a

1. Cf. Cambay plates *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38.
2. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 271.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 283 and vol. V, pp. 193f.
4. *Ibid.*, vol VII, p. 35.
5. From the *Vikramārjunavijaya* of Pampa we know that he routed the Chalukya chieftain Vijayaditya (see *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 328-329), who was obliged to seek Arikesarin's help.

dissolute life He is described in the Khārepāṭan plates as 'an abode of the sentiment of love, surrounded by crowds of lovely women' and this description receives confirmation from the Deoli and Karhād plates of Kṛishna III But one would like to have stronger proof to support the charge that he caused or hastened his brother's death and had incestuous connection with his wife We must remember that a similar comparison occurs in the Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha I [1] He is described therein as feeling ashamed when he was compared with a Gupta prince known for his liberality (evidently Chandragupta II Vikramāditya), as the latter had killed his brother, married his wife and usurped the throne In the *Kavyamimāmsā* of Rājaśekhara again we have a comparison between Rāmagupta, the elder brother Chandragupta and Kārttikeya, who, as I have shown elsewhere,[2] was the Gurjara Pratihāra king Mahīpāla I of Kanauj It seems it was the practice of court poets to institute such comparisons between their patrons and well known princes of the Gupta dynasty and to show the superiority of the former over the latter It would be unwise and unjust to see unintended insinuations in such comparisons

Besides, we have no other reference to the alleged evil actions of Govinda IV in any records of his successors, some of whom had little love for him and would not, therefore, have refrained from mentioning them if they had been true As I have shown elsewhere,[3] Baddiga Amoghavarsha III, who succeeded Govinda IV, probably fomented a rebellion among his feudatories which cost him his life The Deoli and Karhad plates of Baddiga's son Kṛishna III refer to Govinda s dissolute life, but are silent about these charges One of the arguments advanced by Dr D R Bhandarkar in support of his inferences is that Govinda IV does not in his charters 'meditate on the feet on his brother whom he had succeeded We must note, however, that Amoghavarsha had an extremely short reign of

1 हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्देवीं च दीनस्तथा। लक्षं कोटिमलेखयत्किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वय । etc *Ep Ind* Vol XVIII p 248

2 *Ind Ant* vol XII (November 1933), pp 201 ff See above, No 16

3. *A B O R I* vol XI pp 361 ff

hardly more than a year. The court-poet who first composed the portion of the Sāngali and Cambay plates, may not have considered it sufficiently important and may have, therefore, omitted his name. We have an analogous instance in Kalachuri inscriptions. Bālaharsha, the son of Mugdhatuṅga Prasiddhadhavala, a Kalachuri king of Tripurī, is mentioned in the Benāras copper-plate of Karṇa[1] but his name is omitted in the lengthy and fairly exhaustive list given in the earlier Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chedi.[2] The absence of Amoghavarsha's name in the charters of Govinda IV cannot, therefore, be adduced to support the charge of the heinous crimes against Govinda IV.

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1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 207ff. *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 242.
2. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 252 ff. *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 210.

18. HISTORICAL DATA IN DAṆḌIN'S DAŚAKUMĀRACHARITA*

Nearly fifty years ago Mark Collins drew attention to the narrative in the eighth *Uchchhvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracharita* which pointed to the existence of a large southern power ruling over Vidarbha, with no fewer than six feudatory kingdoms owing allegiance to it [1] Collins saw in this a reflex of the actual conditions existing in the days of Daṇḍin himself and therefore investigated the matter for fixing the date of that Sanskrit author Since then there has been considerable progress in our knowledge of the ancient history of India in general and of the Deccan in particular, which makes it necessary that the problem should be rediscussed in the light of recent researches

As is well known, the *Daśakumāracharita* describes the adventures of ten Kumāras who were followers of Rājavāhana, the son of the dethroned king Rājahaṁsa of Magadha One of them was Viśruta whose adventures are narrated in the eighth and last *Uchchhvāsa* of the original work of Daṇḍin The story of that chapter may be summarised as follows —

'In the country of Vidarbha there ruled a king named Punyavarman who belonged to the ancient Bhoja race He was a very just and righteous king who protected his subjects, chastised his foes and gave liberal patronage to learned men He was succeeded by his young son Anantavarman This prince, though intelligent and accomplished in all arts, neglected the science of politics Vasurakshita, the old minister who had been highly respected by his father, counselled him again and again to apply himself to the study of *daṇḍanīti*, but Anantavarman, coming under the evil influence of his courtier Viharabhadra, treated the advice with contempt, gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and

* *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol XXVI, pp 20f

1 Mark Collins—*Geographical Data of the Raghuvaṁśa and Daśakumāracharita* (1907), p. 21

indulged in all kinds of vices, neglecting the affairs of the State. *His subjects imitated him and led a vicious and dissolute life.* As a consequence, disorder and lawlessness became rampant in the kingdom. Finding this a suitable opportunity, Vasantabhānu, the king of the neighbouring Aśmaka country, sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha. The latter ingratiated himself with the king and egged him on in his dissolute life. Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised, Vasantabhānu instigated the king of Vanavāsī to invade the kingdom of Vidarbha. Anantavarman then mobilised his forces and called his feudatories to his help. Among those who rallied under his banner were, besides Vasantabhānu of Aśmaka, Avantideva of Kuntala, Vīrasena of Murala, Ekavīra of Ṛishīka, Kumāragupta of Koṅkaṇa and Nāgapāla of Nāsikya. Followed by these feudatories, Anantavarman marched against the king of Vanavāsī and encamped on the bank of the Varadā.[1] Vasantabhānu, however, secretly conspired with the king of Kuntala and caused disaffection among other feudatories also. They treacherously attacked Anantavarman in the rear while he was fighting with the invading forces of the king of Vanavāsī. The king of Vidarbha was killed in the fight. Vasantabhānu then contrived to cause dissension among the feudatories also. They fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. He then appropriated the whole booty and giving some part of it to the king of Vanavāsī, induced him to return to his country and himself annexed the whole kingdom of Vidarbha.

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1. The Bombay Sanskrit Series edition of the *Daśakumāracharita* (p. 133) states that the army was encamped on the Narmadā which is evidently incorrect. As shown below, Vanavāsī, the well-known capital of the Kadambas, was situated in the North Kanara District of the Bombay State. The ruler of Vanavāsī could not have penetrated to the Narmadā without overrunning the entire Vidarbha which he had not evidently done. I therefore accept the reading *Varadā-rodhasi* (in place of *Narmadā-rodhasi*) given by an old MS., which is evidently a mistake for *Varadā-rodhasi* 'on the bank of the Wardhā' (see Agashe's ed. p. 138, n.). Since this was written, my friend Mr. P. K. Gode informs me that the reading *Varadā-rodhasi* is actually given by an old MS. of the work, dated V. S. 1816, now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute.

In the meanwhile the old minister Vasurakshita, who was true to his salt, safely escorted Vasundharā, the queen of Anantavarman and her two children Bhāskaravarman and Mañjuvādinī to the court of Mitravarman, the half brother of Anantavarman who was ruling at Māhishmatī The latter, finding that his advances were rejected by the queen, suspected that she wanted her son to inherit the kingdom of Māhishmatī He therefore desired to kill the young prince The latter, however, escaped with the help of a trusted old servant and while roaming through a Vindhya forest chanced to meet Viśruta who turned out to be his relative Viśruta then vowed that he would exterminate the king of Aśmaka and place Bhāskaravarman on his ancestral throne He then disguised himself and Bhāskaravarman as Kāpālikas and repaired to Māhishmatī There he killed Prachandavarman, the brother of Chandavarman, the king of Mālava, who had come there to marry Mañjuvādinī Viśruta also contrived to cause Mitravarman's death by means of a poisonous garland He then married Mañjuvādinī and looked after the affairs of the State in the kingdom of Māhishmatī on behalf of Bhāskaravarman'

Dandin's narrative ends here abruptly So we do not know whether Viśruta succeeded in fulfilling his vow by destroying Vasantabhānu and placing Bhāskaravarman on the throne of Vidarbha [1]

The narrative sketched above points to the existence of a large southern Empire The Emperor belonged to the ancient lineage of Bhoja He ruled directly over Vidarbha which comprised modern Berar, the Marathi speaking districts of the old Central Provinces and the portion of the Hyderabad State north of the Godavari The kingdom of Anūpa, whose capital was Mahishmati, was incorporated with that of Vidarbha and was ruled by the emperor's half brother Vidarbha had a number of feudatory kingdoms, viz, Kuntala, Aśmaka, Rishika, Murala Nāsikya and Konkana Of these, Kuntala comprised the upper valley of the Krishnā and included the modern Southern Maratha

1 The *Uttarapīṭhikā* which completes the story, states that Viśruta succeeded in fulfilling his vow but this work is very late

Country and northern districts of the Mysore State. Its northern limit was probably the Godāvarī.[1] This seems to have been a powerful kingdom, for Vasantabhānu wanted to enlist its ruler's supprort to his plot before he approached other feudatories. Aśmaká, which figures very prominently in the story, comprised, according to the *Suttanipāta,* the country along the bank of the Godāvarī. Ṛishīka which is mentioned together with Vidardha, Aśmaka and Anūpa in the Epics and inscriptions, could have been none other than the modern district of Khāndesh as shown by me elsewhere.[2] Aśmaka and Ṛishīka were thus contiguous countries and were separated from each other by the Ajaṇṭā or Sātmālā range. Murala was perhaps the country watered by the Muralā which figures in the *Uttararāmacharita* as a tributary of the Godāvarī. Nāsikya was, of course, the country round Nāsik in the Bombay State. Koṅkaṇa is the well-known name of the strip of land between the western sea and the Sahyādri mountain.

The Empire of Anantavarman therefore extended from the Narmadā in the north to the Tuṅgabhadrā in the South and from the Arabian sea in the West to the Vaingaṅgā in the East. Beyond the frontiers of this kingdom lay the powerful kingdom of Mālava in the North, that of Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh) in the East and of Vanavāsī (modern Banvāsi in North Kānara) in the South. Mālava and Kosala appear to have been friendly to Vidarbha ; the latter was even matrimonially allied with it. Vanavāsī, however, seems to have been hostile.

Mark Collins showed that this state of things existed only in the sixth century A. D. under the rule of the Vākāṭakas. When he wrote, the chronology of the Vākāṭakas was very uncertain. Owing to the mistaken identification of Devagupta mentioned in Vākāṭaka land-grants with the homonymous king who belonged to the dynasty of the Later Guptas,[3] the Vākāṭakas were believed

1. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 40.
2. *Ibid* Vol. XXV, p. 68.
3. This identification was first proposed by Dr. Fleet and was accepted by Dr. Kielhorn. Dr. Bühler, however, dissented from it and placed the Vākāṭakas in the 5th century A. D,

to have flourished in the eighth century A D It redounds to the credit of Collins that he did not subscribe to the prevalent view, but independently evaluated the evidence and showed that the Vākāṭakas flourished in the Gupta age—a conclusion which has since been incontrovertibly proved by the discovery of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, for they show that Devagupta was another name of Chandragupta II In some other respects, however, Collin's conclusions were erroneous, based as they were on insufficient data [1] We shall therefore review the history of the age to see what particular period of the Vakātaka rule is reflected in Dandin's narrative

We must remember at the outset that we must not expect to find the names of historical personages in this narrative Like his predecessor Kālidāsa and his successors Rājaśekhara and Padmagupta,[2] Dandin has plainly changed the names of the characters who figure in the story But in other respects his narrative may be expected to contain a reflex of the historical events

Let us first take a brief survey of Vakātaka history Towards the close of the third century A D the Vakatakas had a fairly extensive empire in the Deccan Pravarasena I, who was the real founder of Vakataka power, is said to have performed four Aśvamedhas besides several other Śrauta sacrifices He had four sons among whom, according to the Puranas,[3] his extensive empire was divided after his death The eldest branch held northern

1 For instance Collins thought that the Vakatakas rose to power in *circa* A D. 400 and flourished till A D 600 and that they were connected with the Western Kshatrapas who disappear from history towards the close of the 4th century A D He also identified Prithivisheṇa whose feudatory Vyāghradeva's inscription was found at Nachnā with the first Vākātaka prince of that name In all these respects his conclusions have been proved to be erroneous

2 I have shown elsewhere that Kālidāsa's play *Mālavikāgnimitra* reflects the matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and the Vākātakas See my Marathi book *Kālidāsa* Second ed pp 147 f For the historical data in Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* see my articles in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* Vol XI pp 361 ff and *Ind Ant* Vol LXII pp 101 ff See also *C I I* Vol IV pp lxxix f and cxviii f

3 See Pargiter *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 50

Vidarbha and ruled first from Nandivardhana near Rāmṭek (ancient Rāmagiri) in the Nagpur District and afterwards from Pravarapura which has not yet been identified, but which was probably Pavnār in the Wardhā District. The second branch ruled over southern Vidarbha from Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akolā District. The other two branches may have ruled over Kuntala and south Kosala but their records have not yet been discovered. The former seems to have been crushed out of existence by a Rāshṭrakūṭa family which rose in Southern Mahārāshṭra in the last quarter of the 4th century A. D.[1] The latter also was overthrown by another royal family which rose to power about the same time.

The eldest branch produced several kings, the best known of whom is Pravarasena II, the daughter's son of Chandragupta II–Vikramāditya and the reputed author of the Prakrit *kāvya Setubandha*. During the reign of Pṛithvīsheṇa II, this branch extended its sway to the north of the Narmadā as some stone inscriptions of this king's feudatory Vyāghradeva, who is plainly identical with the Uchchakalpa king Vyāghra, have been found in the Jaso and Ajayagaḍh States in Central India.[2] This branch seems to have come to an end soon after Pṛithivīsheṇa II, who is the last king known from inscriptions.

The Vatsagulma branch also produced some great kings whose names are known from an inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā. The last of them known so far was Harisheṇa (A.D. 475-500). He was a very powerful and ambitious ruler. He appears to have annexed Northern Vidarbha after the death of Pṛithivīsheṇa II and either raided or exacted tribute from the rulers of Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosalā, Trikūṭa Lāṭa and Āndhra.[3] It was during his reign that three of the most beauti-

1. See my article 'The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura' in *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff. See also No. 19, below.

2. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 233; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

3. The names of these countries occur in a mutilated verse in lines 14-15 in the inscriptions in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā, in connection with the description of the conquests of Harisheṇa.

ful caves at Ajaṇṭā viz. caves XVI, XVII and XIX, as well as the Ghaṭotkacha cave at Gulwāḍā were excavated and decorated.

The description of Harisheṇa's conquests in the Ajaṇṭā inscription shows that his empire extended beyond the Narmadā in the North and the Krishṇā in the South and from the Arabian sea in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the East. The Vākāṭaka power crumbled soon after Harisheṇa; for no successor of his is known from inscriptions. The circumstances which caused the sudden downfall of such a powerful empire have not been recorded in history. The eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracharita*, if properly interpreted, may throw welcome light on the question.[1]

The *Daśakumāracharita* names Puṇyavarman and his son Anantavarman as kings of Vidarbha and Mitravarman as the ruler of Māhishmatī. All these belonged to the ancient Bhoja race. The ancient history of Vidarbha, known so far, discloses no such dynasty of Varman kings. The Vākāṭakas, who alone could have been meant here, had their names ending in *sena*. The names of the characters in the *Daśakumāracharita* are therefore purposely changed. Again, the Vākāṭakas nowhere in their records connect themselves with the ancient Bhoja race. The Chammaka plates[2] of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarsena II no doubt mention Bhojakaṭarājya as a territorial division of Vidarbha, from which Collins has inferred that the Vākāṭakas called themselves Bhojas and ruled from Bhojakaṭa, but the inference does not appear to be justifiable. It is not however unlikely that the Vākāṭakas who ruled over Vidarbha, the land of the Bhojas, may have been popularly supposed to be of the Bhoja race. The commentator of the *Setubandha*, has recorded the tradition that Pravarsena, the author of that *Kāvya*, was, according to some, called Bhojadeva.[3]

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1. Mark Collins thought that the political condition described in the *Daśakumāracharita* existed before the time of Harisheṇa, for Daṇḍin describes Kuntala as a feudatory kingdom, while in the Ajaṇṭā inscriptions it is said to have been conquered by Harisheṇa, which shows that it was independent. See his *Geographical Data* etc., p 46. The argument does not appear convincing.

2. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 235 ff.

3. Cf. *Pravarseno Bhojadeva iti kechit* in the com on v. 9.

The Daśakumāracharita mentions several feudatories of Anantavarman and therefore of his father Puṇyavarman whom we have identified with Harisheṇa. Let us see if any of them are known from other sources to have acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Vidarbha.

1. **Vasantabhānu of Aśmaka** – Aśmaka, as already stated, was the name of the country between the Sātmālā range and the Godāvarī river. In the recently discovered Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates it is mentioned together with Vidarbha as conquered by *Mānāṅka of the Rashṭrakūṭa dynasty and may have been in subordinate* alliance with the former. No records of the ruling family have yet been discovered, but that Aśmaka was ruled as a separate country in the 6th century A. D. is shown by an inscription of that age in Cave XXVI at Ajaṇṭā which *names two ministers of* the rulers of Aśmaka.

2. **Avantideva of Kuntala**—I have shown elsewhere that contemporary with the Vākāṭakas there was a dynasty of the Rāshṭrakūṭas ruling over the country of Kuntala which comprised the upper valley of the Krishṇā. Their capital was Mānapura, modern Māṇ on the Māṇ river in the Sātārā District, which was founded by Mānāṅka, the progenitor of the family. The country of Kuntala was conterminous with Vidarbha and therefore its rulers often came into conflict with the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma.[1] The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā records two victories of the Vākāṭakas over *the kings of Kuntala, the first* during the reign of Sarvasena and the *second during that of* Harisheṇa.[2] The king of Kuntala must have been smarting under the defeat inflicted by Harisheṇa and therefore must have welcomed the opportunity to throw off the Vākāṭaka yoke during the reign of Harisheṇa's weak successor.

3. ***Ekavīra of Rishīka***–Rishīka, as *stated above,* was the ancient name of the modern Khāndesh District. As I have shown elsewhere[3] from some copper-plate grants discovered in

1. See my article 'the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,' *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff. See No. 19, below

2. Mirashi, *Vakātaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14), pp. 4 ff.

3. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159f.

Khāndesh, there was a feudatory family ruling over this country in the fourth and fifth centuries A D Its capital was Valkha, which I have identified with Vaghli near Chalisgaon A large, but sadly mutilated, inscription in cave XVII at Ajantā mentions a long line of twelve princes which, from their names, appears to have been connected with the family ruling at Vaghli The last of these princes, being very much grieved by the death of his younger brother, caused the caves XVII and XIX to be excavated at Ajanṭa 'while Harishena, the moon among princes, was ruling the earth The mention of the Vakātaka ruler clearly indicates that this ruler of Rishika was his feudatory

4 **Nāgapāla of Nāsikya**—This prince probably belonged to the royal family of the Traikutakas who are known from their inscriptions and coins to have held Northern Maharashṭra and Southern Gujarat in the fifth century A D The Traikūtakas at first owned the supremacy of the Ābhiras whose era they used in their inscriptions but later on they became independent; for one of them, Dahrasena (*circa* A D 450 75), performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice Harishena claims to have defeated the ruler of Trikūta, who was probably Vyaghrasena, for a copper plate grant of the latter is dated K 241 (A D 490) Trikūta, from which the royal family took its name, was the range of hills which bordered the Nasik District on the west The recently discovered Anjaneri plates of Bhogaśakti mention *Purva Trikuṭa vishaya* or Eastern Trikuta District[1], which shows plainly that there was a district named after the mountain which divided it into two parts

5 **Kumāragupta of Konkana**—The early history of Konkana is still uncertain for want of contemporary inscriptions The country was occupied by the Śakas and Satavahanas in the early centuries of the Christian era, but who succeeded them is not yet definitely known In K 245 (A D 494) Konkana was under the rule of the Traikutakas, for a copper plate of that year which was discovered in the Stūpa at Kānheri men

1 *Ep Ind* Vol XXV, p 232

tions 'the increasingly victorious rule of the Traikūṭakas.' Perhaps, the ruler of Koṅkaṇa, whoever he was, at first owed allegiance to the Traikūṭakas, but submitted to the Vākāṭakas when they vanquished the Traikūṭakas.

6. **Vīrasena of Murala**—As shown above, the country of Murala may have been situated not far from the bank of the Godāvarī, but we have no knowledge of any dynasty ruling there.

We have thus seen that all these feudatories were ruling either to the west or to the south of Vidarbha. Harisheṇa claims to have conquered the eastern kingdoms of Kaliṅga, Kosalā and Āndhra also, but none of these are mentioned in the story probably because they did not join Vasantabhānu's conspiracy. Two of these were probably relatives of the Vākāṭaka king. The *Daśkumāracharita* states that Anantavarman's mother was the daughter of the king of Kosala i. e., Dakshiṇa Kosala or Chhattisgarh. That the ruler of Kosala had submitted to the Vākāṭakas is known also from the incomplete Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II. The contemporary ruler probably belonged to the so-called dynasty of Śarabhapura.[1] The Āndhra king who may have belonged to the Vishṇukuṇḍin family, was also matrimonially connected with the Vākāṭakas; for Mādhavavarman I, who laid the foundation of Vishṇukuṇḍin power, in the Āndhra country, married a Vākāṭaka princess who was probably a descendant of Harisheṇa himself.

The *Daśakumāracharita* mentions, besides these feudatory states, the kingdoms of Māhishmatī and Mālava in the North and that of Vanavāsī in the South. The country of Anūpa, of which Māhishmatī was the capital, comprised the territory corresponding to the Nemāḍ district of Madhya Pradesh. Of this country too we have little information, but from two copper-plate grants discovered in the Barwānī District and the Bāgh Caves[2] we learn that a

1. I have shown elsewhere that the so called kings of Śarabhapura flourished in circa 500-530 A. D.; see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p 229.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 261ff. and An. Rep. of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for 1928-29, p. 15. The editor of the Barwānī plates refers this date to the Gupta era, but the general resemblance of

king named Subandhu was ruling at Māhishmatī in the fifth century A. D.; for one of the grants is dated in the (Kalachuri) year 167 (A. D. 416-17). He does not appear to have belonged to the Vākāṭaka family. Afterwards the country may have been annexed to the Vākāṭaka dominion and placed under a member of the royal family.

Chaṇḍavarman of Mālava—This country was then ruled by a very powerful ruler who may have been Yaśodharman of Ujjayinī, the famous vanquisher of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. The Mandasor stone pillar inscription of this king states that his empire extended over a very wide country extending from the Himālayas and the Brahmaputrā in the North to the Arabian Sea and the Mahendra mountain in the South.

Bhānuvarman of Vanavāsī—Vanavāsī, also called Vaijayantī, (modern Vanavasī in the North Kanara District), was the capital of the Kadambas. Kadamba chronology is still uncertain, but that there was a powerful kingdom of the Kadambas in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. is undeniable. The last king of the main line was Harivarman, whose Sāngoli plates seem to have been issued either in A. D. 526 or A. D. 545. His father was Ravivarman, who may have been identical with Bhānuvarman[1] mentioned in the *Daśakumāracharita*

The description in the *Daśakumāracharita* is thus corroborated in all important details by what we know about the history of the Deccan in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. It clearly suggests that the central power in the Vākāṭaka Empire became weak and feudatories began to show signs of revolt during the reign of Harisheṇa's weak successor who led a dissolute life. There were chaos and confusion everywhere in the Vākāṭaka

this grant to those of the kings of Valkha (*A. B O. R I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 162f) leaves no doubt that like the latter it also is dated in the so-called Kalachuri-Cedi era of A. D. 249 50 See *C. I. I.*, Vol IV, pp. 17 f.

1. There was actually a prince named Bhānuvarman of the Kadamba family at this time, but he was not the ruling king as required He was the brother of the then ruling king Ravivarman See his Halsi grant dated in the 11th year of Ravivarman's reign *Ind. Ant*, Vol VI, p. 28,

kingdom which ultimately led to an invasion by the Kadambas of Vanavāsī at the instigation of the ruler of Aśmaka. Owing to the treacherous defection of some other feudatories, the Vākāṭaka king suffered a disastrous defeat and was killed in the fight. The Aśmaka king then annexed Vidarbha to his kingdom. As Daṇḍin's narrative ends abruptly, we do not know whether Bhāskaravarman, whom we have identified with Harisheṇa's grandson, regained the ancestral throne with external help. But even if he did, he could not have kept it long. And this is what actually happened; for within about fifty years of Harisheṇa's death, Vidarbha was occupied by the Kalachuris, who had, *in the meanwhile, established themselves at Māhishmatī.* Silver coins of Kṛishṇarāja (*circa* A. D. 550-575), the founder of Kalachuri power, have been *discovered in the Amraoti District* of Berar and the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh. From some other indications[1] also we can infer that Vidarbha was occupied by the Kalachuris during the time of Kṛishṇarāja.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Daṇḍin's narrative faithfully reflects the actual political situation in the Deccan in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. Such detailed knowledge of the different kingdoms flourishing in that age clearly indicates that Daṇḍin must have lived at a time when the events described by him happened or were at least well remembered.

The date of Daṇḍin has long been a matter of keen controversy. Some have placed him in the sixth century A. D., others in the 9th and some others in the 11th century A. D.[2] As shown above, the political conditions described in the eighth *Uchchhvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracharita*, obtained in Vidarbha only in the sixth century A. D. In later centuries the centre of imperial

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1. *As I have shown elsewhere* (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol XXV, pp. 43.), the records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas who later on established themselves at Achalapura (modern Ellichpur) in Berar, copy certain expressions from the description of Krishṇarāja in the grants of the Kalachuris, which plainly shows that Kṛishṇarāja had occupied Vidarbha.

2. See Agashe's introduction in his edition of the *Daśakumāracharita* (Bom. Sansk. Series), p. xxxviii.

power in the Deccan shifted successively to Māhishmati, Badāmi, Mānyakheṭa, and Kalyāni, but it was never in Vidarbha Some of the geographical names also went out of use in later times One such instance is that of Rishika This country is named in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana*, *Bṛhatsamhitā* as well as in the Nāsik cave inscription of Pulumāvi, but it is unknown to later works and inscriptions All these indications point to the conclusion that Daṇḍin must have flourished not long after A D 550

The recently discovered Sanskrit works *Avantisundarīkathā* and *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* contained some interesting information about the ancestry and personal history of Dandin, but both these works are unfortunately fragmentary The latter work, however, states that Dandin was the great-grandson of the Sanskrit poet Dāmodara who was patronised by the Gānga king Durvinita and the Pallava ruler Simhavishnu Damodara must therefore have lived in the last quarter of the sixth century A. D His great grandson Dandin can consequently be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A D It has been doubted whether the author of the *Avantisundarīkathā* was identical with Dandin who wrote the *Daśakumaracharita*, but it is conceded even by those who doubt this identity that the biographical details about Dandin given in the aforementioned works may be correct[1] Dandin thus may have flourished nearly a hundred years after the fall of the Vakātakas It is not therefore unlikely that he had fairly reliable information about the last period of Vakaṭaka rule in Vidarbha

1 See *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol III p 430

19. THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS OF MĀNAPURA*

In the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88ff., Pandit Bhagwanlal first published the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Abhimanyu, which gives the following genealogy :—

Mānāṅka
|
Devarāja
|
(Not named) — (Not named) — Bhavishya
|
Abhimanyu

The plates were issued by Abnimanyu while residing at Mānapura and record the grant of the village Uṇḍikavāṭikā to a recluse named Jaṭābhāra in honour of the god Dakshiṇa-Śiva of Peṭhapaṅgaraka. The original find-spot of the copper-plates has not been recorded. They were from the collection of Dr. Bhau Daji and were presumably found somewhere in the Bombay State. In the absence of definite information about the provenance of this grant, there was no clue available for the identification of the localities mentioned in it, but Dr. Fleet discussed the matter at great length in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, pp. 509–14, and suggested that the god Dakshiṇa-Śiva might be the god of the great Śaiva shrine in the Mahādeva Hills of the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh. He proposed to identify Peṭhapaṅgaraka with Pagāra, the head-quarters of the *Zamindārī* of the same name, about 4 miles to the north of Pachmarhi, and Uṇḍikavāṭikā[1] with Oontiā, 30 miles north-northwest from Mahādeva Hills. He was not able to suggest any satisfactory identification of Mānapura, though he had previously thought that it might be identical with

* *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXV, pp. 25 f.

1. Dr. Fleet thought that the correct-name of the place was Uṇṭikavāṭikā which he thought exactly corresponded to Ooṇṭiā.

Mānapura in Malwa, about 12 miles southwest of Mhow.[1] Another identification proposed of the place is that it is Mānapura near Bandhogarh in Rewa[2] This royal family is therefore supposed to have ruled in the western part of Madhya Pradesh

Subsequently, in his *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp 77 ff, Dr. Dubreuil, accepting the suggestion, first made by Dr. Sten Konow,[3] that Mānāṅka may be identical with Mānamātra and Sudevarāja with Devarāja, mentioned in several plates of the so-called kings of Śarabhapura, gave the following genealogy :—

Prasanna
(Of the Rāshtrakoṭa family)
|
Mānamātra
(King of Mānapura)
|
Sudevarāja
|
Jayarāja — Bhavishya
|
Abhimanyu (son of Bhavishya)

In the *Mysore Archæological Survey Report* for 1929, pp. 197 ff and Plate XIX, Dr M H Krishna has edited with facsimiles a set of copper-plates (called Pāndarangapalli plates) discovered in the possession of the Patel of a village near Kolhapur It gives the following genealogy .—

Mānāṅka
|
Devarāja
|
Avidheya

Dr Krishna identified Avidheya as the third son of Devarāja who had not been named in the Undikavātikā plates He then put forward the hypothesis that Devaraja (or Sudevarāja), the son of Mānānka (or Mānamātra), had three sons, Avidheya, Jayarāja and Bhavishya, among whom was divided the extensive

1. *Ind Ant*, Vol xviii pp 223 ff
2 Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 77
3. *Ep Ind*, vol ix, p 172.

Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire of the Deccan which extended from the Mahānadī and the Tāpī to the Bhīmā, comprising three Mahārāshṭras. Jayarāja, was ruling over the eastern part on the banks of the Mahānadī, Bhavishya over Northern Mahārāshṭra and Madhya Pradesh, and Avidheya over Southern Mahārāshṭra extending to the banks of the Bhīmā. Kṛishṇa, the son of Indra, and Govinda who are mentioned as defeated by the Chālukya Jayasiṁha and Pulakeśin II of Badāmi, belonged to this family, after overthrowing which, Pulakeśin II became the lord of three Mahārāshṭras.[1]

In the last number of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff.) Dr. Altekar has shown that this theory of the existence of an extensive Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire in the sixth century A. D. is untenable, because, firstly, most of these kings do not describe themselves as Rāshṭrakūṭas and secondly, there were other kings such as the Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kalachuris and the Kadambas, who were ruling over the major part of Mahārāshṭra, and not the Rashṭrakūṭas.

I agree with the main conclusion of Dr. Altekar that there was no extensive Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire in the Deccan in the sixth century A. D. before the rise of the Chālukyas of Badāmi. The theory of the existence of such an Empire is based on the identification of Mānamātra with Mānāṅka and Devarāja with Sudevarāja. This foundation is very week; for firstly, there is no convincing reason for these changes in the personal names of these kings. Secondly, Jayarāja was an uncle of Sudevarāja, not his son.[2] Thirdly, there is nothing common in the characters and seals of the descendants of Mānāṅka and those of the descendants of Mānamātra. The charters of the former are inscribed in what Dr. Buhler calls the western variety of the southern alphabet, while those of the latter are incised in the so-called

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xvi, p. 17, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. vi, p. 9

2. From the seal of the Āraṅg plates (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 193) *it is* clear that Jayarāja was a son of Prasanna (or Prasannamātra) and *therefore* an *uncle* of Sudevarāja, not his *son*. The mistake has long *remained uncorrected. For the genealogy of the kings of Sarabhapura, see Ep. Ind.*, Vol. xxii, p. 15.

box headed characters of Central India The seals of the charters of the former have the figure of a lion facing the proper right, while those of the latter have the figure of standing Lakshmi with an elephant on either side pouring water on her Manamatra therefore belonged to an altogether different dynasty–the so called dynasty of Śarabhapura[1]–which was ruling over the Bilāspur and Raipur Districts of Madhya Pradesh

There is however no reason to doubt the identification of Mananka and Devaraja of the Undikavatika plates with the homonymous princes mentioned in the Pandarangapalli plates Both these charters begin the genealogy with Mānānka and describe Devarāja as his son The description of Devaraja that he was like the lord of gods (i e, Indra) occurs also in both[2] Secondly, both the grants are inscribed in similar characters which were current in Mahārashṭra at least from the 5th to the 8th century A D Thirdly, the seals of both contain the figure of a lion facing the proper right These agreements plainly indicate that the two families came of the same stock One of them calls itself Rāshtrakuta while the other is silent about its family name This does not, however, present an insuperable difficulty as there are several ancient charters in which the names of royal families are not mentioned[3] I do not therefore agree with Dr Altekar when he says that there is no conclusive proof that the king Avidheya of Paṇḍarangapalli plates and Abhimanyu of the Undikavatikā plates were the descendants of Manānka and his son Devaraja[4]

The next question is—'Were these families ruling over different regions—Avidheya over Southern Maharashtra and

1 Recently a set of plates of Narendra the son of Sarabha the founder of the dynasty has been found at Piperdulā in the Raipur District *Ind Hist Quart* vol xix pp 139 ff

2 Cf Devarājaḥ sutas=tasya deva rāja iv=āśritān 1 cakār=āsama sampattīn etc in l 5 of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapall plates and Tasya vigraha vān=iva deva rāja(jo) Devarāja iti sūnuḥ in ll 3-4 of the Uṇḍikavātikā plates

3 See for instance the charters of the so-called kings of Śarabhapura

4 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol XXVI, p 153

stretched even up to the Godāvarī in the north, for the *Udayasundarīkathā* mentions Pratishṭhāna (modern Paiṭhaṇ on the Godāvarī) as the capital of Kuntala.[1] The findspot of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī plates was thus included in the Kuntala country. Mānāṅka was plainly ruling over what we now call the Southern Maratha Country. From there he raided Aśmaka which lay in the valley of the Godāvarī, and Vidarbha which comprised modern Berar and the Marathi speaking districts of old Madhya Pradesh. Lines 17–19 give the particulars of the donated village, which I read as follows–'mātāpitror = ātmanaś = ca puṇya-yaśo-bhivṛiddhaye [Mahādeva] gireḥ pūrvvata[h*] Ane[nadī]kūl[e] Kāmyaka–Jā[va]la[vāṭi]kā–sahitā Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī pratipādit = etya–.'[2] These lines state that Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī which was donated together with the hamlets of Kāmyaka and Jāvala lay on the bank of the Ane river to the east of the Mahādeva hill. I identify the river Ane with the Yennā (also called Veṇā) which, being one of the chief feeders of the Krishṇā, rises on the Mahābaleśvara plateau and falls into a valley to the east of the Mahābaleśvara hill in the Sātārā District of the Bombay State.[3] It is noteworthy that the river flows through Jāvali which is one of the hamlets mentioned in the grant. Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī must have been situated in the vicinity of Jāvali. Mahādevagiri (if the reading is correct)[4] is, of course, the Mahābaleśvara hill, the summer resort of the Bombay Government. These identifications show that Avidheya was ruling over the Sātārā District and the adjoining territory. Finally, in lines 28–29 I read[5] 'likhitaṁ = ch = edam rājya-saṁva-

1. *Udayasundarīkathā (Gaikwad's Or. Series)*, pp. 21 and 83.

2. The published reading is (l 17) '–m āsapiṇḍād–ātmanaḥ prajāyaśo-bhivṛddhaye Mahādeva– (l 18) gireḥ pūrvatā Anevari Chāla Kandaka Duddapalli–sahitā (l 19) Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī pratipāditety–'.

3. *Satarā District Gazetteer*, p. 14.

4. The name of the hill is not clear on the plate as remarked by Dr. Krishna. There is also a range of hills called Mahādeva hills, which stretches east and southeast across the whole breadth of the Sātārā District, but it is not likely to be intended here as it lies to the east of the Ane or Yennā river.

5. The published reading is–' (l 28) likhitaṁ ch = edaṁ rājyakara varise ṣhoḍaśe Bhādrapade Kārttikasya ba–(l. 29) hula Pañchamyāṁ rājñoujñātena

[tsa]re pañchadaśe Bhādrapade Kārttikasya bahula-pañchamyāṁ rāj-ānujñātena Devadattena [1*] Saṁ 10 (+) 5, [Kārttika] ba 5'. It will be noticed that according to my reading the charter was issued in the *15th* (*not* 16th) *regnal year*, on the 5th *tithi* of Kārttika in the (Jovian) year Bhādrapada. This does not of course help us in ascertaining definitely the date of this grant as the details do *not* admit of verification.

Let us next see if Abhimanyu, the son of Bhavishya, was ruling over a different region. His Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant was made while he was residing at Mānapura. This was evidently the royal capital and was probably founded by Mānāṅka, the progenitor of the dynasty. We need not search for this place so far north as Malwa or the Rewa State. It is probably identical with Māṇ, the chief place of Māṇ sub-division of the Sātārā District, through which flows the Māṇgaṅgā, a tributary of the Bhīmā. As for the temple of Dakshiṇa-Śiva, in honour of which the grant was made, there are several such temples on the summits of hills in the Sātārā District, but the most celebrated of them is that of Mahābaleśvara where the Krishṇā takes its rise. There is, of course, now no place in the neighbourhood of the name of Peṭhapaṅgaraka.[1] Uṇḍikavāṭikā will have to be searched for in the vicinity of Mahābaleśvara.[2]

These identifications make it plain that both these grants belong to the same part of the country, *viz.*, the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency. We must therefore suppose that

Devadattena Paṇḍarādruvena.' At the end of l. 24 there are numerical symbols denoting 10 and 5 which have not been noticed before. There are exactly like those used in the Sarsavṇi plates of Buddharāja (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff. and Pl.) (the Śaṅkhedā grants of Dadda II, *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 37ff, and Pl.) and several other records of the 6th and 7th centuries A. D.

1. There is a place named Pāngri in the Barsi *tāluka* of the adjoining Sholāpur District, but it is not known if there was, in ancient times, a *famous* temple of Śiva there.

2. There is one Udanvāḍi, about 28 miles south-west of Paṇḍharpur and about 4 miles south of the Māṇ river which may represent ancient Uṇḍikavāṭikā.

Bhavishya was a younger son of Devarāja and succeeded Avidheya, who seems to have died without leaving a son

From another grant found at Hingani Beradi in the Dhond *tāluka* of the Poona District, which has been published by Dr M G Dikshit, we have come to know the name of the third son of Devarāja viz Māna *alias* Vibhurāja The genealogy of these Early Rashtrakuṭas may therefore be stated as follows —

Mananka
|
Devarāja
|
Mana *alias* Vibhurāja — Avidheya — Bhavishya
Bhavishya
|
Abhimanyu

When did this Rāshṭrakūṭa family flourish? On palaeo graphic grounds the Pāndarangapallī and Undikavātikā grants have been referred to the 5th century A D [1] The use of the Jovian year in recording the date of the Pandarangapalli plates also points in the same direction, for these years were not generally cited in the south after the 5th century A D [2] Unfortunately, all these grants are either undated or are dated in regnal years They consequently afford no help in definitely fixing the period of their rule We shall not, however, be wrong, I think, if we suppose that these Rashtrakutas were contempararies of the Traikūtakas who were ruling over North Konkan, Gujerat and North Maharashṭra and of the Vākāṭakas who held Vidarbha during the fourth and fifth centuries A D They were probably known in their days as *Kuntaleśas* or lords of Kuntala, for, as seen above Manānka, the founder of the dynasty is described as the ruler of Kuntala The records of the Vakatakas contain occasional references either to their clashes or to their matrimonial alliances with the kings of Kuntala The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta, for intance, mentions that Vindhyasena (or Vindhyaśakti II as he is called in the

1 *J Bom Br R A S* Vol XVI p 88 and *M A S R* for 1929 p 201

2 They are found used in some early records of the Kadambas see e g, *Ind Ant* Vol VII pp 35-36

Bāsim plates) of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family defeated the lord of Kuntala.[1] As the kingdom of these Early Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura was conterminous with that of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma, this victory of Vindhyasena must have been gained over these Rāshṭrakūṭas. Mānāṅka, on the other hand, claims to have conquered Vidarbha.[2] These references may be to the same indecisive battle or they may be to different expeditions. In any case, in view of what has been stated above, it may not be wrong to suppose that Mānāṅka was a contemporary of Vindhyasena (or Vindhyaśakti II), who, as I have shown elsewhere, flourished about A. D. 400. The Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II of the Pravarapura branch state that Pṛithivīsheṇa II's father Narendrasena married Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, the daughter of the lord of Kuntala.[3] This princess also may have been of the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage. Finally, the aforementioned Ajaṇṭā cave inscription records a victory of Harisheṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king, over the lord of Kuntala, which also must have been won over this very family. These references to Kuntaleśas were till now understood as pointing to the Kadambas of Vanavāsī, but the country of the Kadambas was not conterminous with that of the Vākāṭakas as no records of the Kadambas have been found in southern Mahārāshṭra. It seems best therefore to identify the Kuntaleśas mentioned in Vākāṭaka records with the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.

From certain passages in the *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kālidāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara,[4] the *Śriṅgāraprakāśa*[5] and the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[6] of Bhoja and the *Auchityavichāracharchā*[7] of Kshemendra it seems that the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II–Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as an ambassador to the court of

1. *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. XVI), p. 4.
2. See l. 1 of the Pāṇḍarangapallī plates.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.
4. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), second ed., pp. 61-62.
5. *Śriṅgāraprakāśa*, Chapters xxii-xxiv, Introd., p. xxii.
6. Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., p. 1C9.
7. *Kāvyamālā*, Guchchha I, Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., pp. 139-40.

a lord of Kuntala. Kālidāsa was not at first well received there, but he gradually gained Kuntaleśa's favour and stayed at his court for some time. When he returned, he reported to Vikramāditya that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him[1] (*i. e.*, on Vikramāditya). This Kuntaleśa has been taken to be the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, but this view does not *now* appear to be correct. Gupta influence was, no doubt, predominant at the Vākāṭaka court during the reign of Pravarasena II, but the Vākāṭakas do not call themselves Kuntaleśas and their rule does not seem to have extended to the Kuntala country though some of them are known to have raided it. This Kuntaleśa may have been an early member of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Mānapura, perhaps Devarāja, whom we have placed in the period A. D. 400–25. This influence of Chandragupta II at the court of two such important royal families of the south as the Vākāṭakas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas corroborates the statement in the Meherauli pillar inscription that even then (*i. e.*, after the death of Chandra or Chandragupta II) the southern ocean was perfumed by the breezes of his prowess.[2]

Harisheṇa's raid on Kuntala does not appear to have resulted in the extermination of this family. Harisheṇa may have contented himself with exacting a tribute from it as he appears to have done in the case of some others such as the Traikūṭakas, for we know of some other rulers of South Mahārāshṭra who also probably belonged to this dynasty. The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dejja Mahārāja, for instance, of whose reign a copper plate inscription was discovered at Gokāk in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency, may have belonged to this very family.[3] The record was issued when 845 years of the

1. Kālidāsa is said to have reported to Vikramāditya पिबति मधुसुगन्धी-न्याननानि प्रियाणां त्वयि विनिहितभार कुन्तलानामधीशः । to which the latter replied पिबतु मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां मयि विनिहितभार· कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥ See above, No. 1.

2 *Gupta Inscriptions* p 141

3. *Ep. Ind.*, *Vol* xxi, pp 289 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Altekar for this reference.

Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is shown to correspond to A. D. 532–33. Dejja-Mahārāja may therefore have been a descendant of Bhavishya.

Some records of the Later Chālukyas state that Jayasiṁha of the Early Chālukya dynasty of Badāmi defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Krishṇa.[1] As Dr. Altekar has pointed out, this statement occurs in very late records composed more than *five centuries* after the event. So one cannot be sure that these kings actually reigned in the 6th century A. D. But Govinda who invaded with his troop of elephants the territory to the north of the Bhīmarathī (*i. e.*, the Bhīmā, a tributary of the Krishṇā) at the time of the accession of Pulakeśin II,[2] may have belonged to this family as already conjectured by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar.[3] This king could not however have been the great-grandfather of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa I as supposed by Dr. Bhandarkar, for the interval between these kings is too large to be covered by three generations.

The Aihole inscription states that this Govinda immediately obtained a reward for the services he rendered to Pulakeśin II. Ravikīrti is unfortunately not explicit on this matter, but he undoubtedly implies that Govinda was won over by Pulakeśin II and induced to turn back. The very fact that Pulakeśin II thought it wise to adopt conciliatory measures in dealing with him shows that he was a powerful foe. His descendants do not, however, seem to have held Southern Mahārāshṭra for a long time; for Pulakeśin soon annexed both Northern and Southern Mahārāshṭras and extended the northern limit of his Empire to the bank of the Narmadā. That he ousted the Rāshṭrakūṭas from Southern Mahārāshṭra is shown by the Sātārā plates of his brother Vishṇuvardhana which record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhīmā.[4]

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1. *Ind Ant*, Vol xvi, p 17.
2. *Ep Ind*, Vol. VI, p. 9.
3. *Early History of the Deccan* (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III) p. 170.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 303 ff.

20 A NOTE ON THE KESARIBEDĀ PLATES OF ARTHAPATI*

Dr R C Majumdar has done well in calling attention to this important grant of the Nala king Arthapati,[1] published in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol XXXIV, pp 32 f and in correcting some of the fantastic conjectures of Mr. Ramdas. I shall briefly discuss here some of the conclusions of Dr Majumdar where I differ from him and call attention to some other points not noticed by him

Mr Ramdas has read the date of this grant as *58 saṁvachhare* As Dr Majumdar has pointed out, there are no clearly inscribed symbols denoting 58 Besides, such symbols usually follow and do not precede a word like *saṁvat* (or *saṁva-chhare*) Dr Majumdar reads this portion of the grant as *saṁ va* (for *saṁvat*) followed by a numerical figure 'The symbols say', he, 'may be read as 100, 6 or 8 on the analogy of figures for those in the Kaliṅga records of the 7th–8th century A D given in Bühler's chart (Pl IX, col XV) It is difficult to be quite sure on this point, but the resemblance with the symbol for 100 is the closest' Here I am unable to agree with Dr Majumdar A reference to Buhler's chart would show that the symbol for 100 has usually a wavy or elongated line at the top, resembling the *akshara* su[2] Here the horizontal stroke at the top is quite straight So the symbol cannot represent 100 It cannot also represent 50, with the symbol of which Dr Majumdar thinks it is 'almosr identical' The symbol for 50 generally faces right, here it faces left Besides, if the symbol really denotes 50 or 100, the date

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* *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol XXVI pp 112 f

1 Arthapati, as a king of the Nala dynasty, became known for the first time when I published his coins in *J N S I* I 29 f His name had occurred in the Riddhapur plates but there it was taken as an epithet of Bhavadatta himself *Ep Ind* vol XIX, p 104 n 6

2 See e g the form of that letter in line 31 of the Valgaon plates of Pravarasena II, published in *Ep Ind* vol XXVII pp 15f Later on the symbol was like the *akṣara lu* See Buhler's *Indian Palæography* (Eng Transl), p 79

must refer to some era, for a reign of 100 years is impossible and that of 50 not very likely. Dr. Majumdar has not stated to what era this date is to be referred. Again, the Nalas, like several other early Indian dynasties, do not appear to have used any era in dating their records. Their Riddhapur plates, for instance, are dated in the eleventh regnal year.[1] The symbol therefore probably stands for some unit figure.

In this connection I call attention to the close resemblance the symbol bears to that denoting 7 in the Ābhoṇ plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa. As the date of this grant is expressed in words, there is no uncertainty about its signification. The symbol in both these cases is like the *akṣara re* of the southern alphabet, the only difference being that in the Kesaribeḍā grant the *mātrā* for the medial *e* is in the same line as the box-head, while in the Abhoṇ grant it rises above the line. The difference is due to the later age of the Ābhoṇ grant. A similar symbol is used in l. 8 of the Indor grant of the *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa and it is noteworthy that Dr. Majumdar also has read it there as 7.[2]

Dr. Majumdar thinks that Arthapati was a grandson of Bhavadatta. This view is based on the use of the word *āryaka* in connection with Bhavadatta in the Riddhapur plates. Āryaka etymologically means 'venerable' and can therefore refer to the father also.[3] The Riddhapur grant was made by Bhavadatta at the holy place Prayāga when he visited it with his queen. It is dated in the eleventh regnal year, evidently of Bhavadatta

1. Mr. Gupte, who has edited the Riddhapur plates, reads the verse recording the date as follows.

या चैकादशेथ वर्षे कार्त्तिकमासस्य बहुलसप्तम्याम् ।
स्वमुखाज्ञा(ज्ञ)याभिलिखित:(ता) रहसि नियुक्तेण(न) चुल्लेन ॥

This requires some correction The first *aksara yā* does not belong to this verse. Together with another *akṣara ka* written between the line 19 and 20, it forms part of the word *Madhulatikaya* which occurs in l. 19. The next *akshara* read as *chai* is really *e*. Notice that it has no box-head.

2. In his edition of this grant published subsequently, Dr. D. C. Sircar also has read this symbol as 7. See. *Ep. Ind*, vol. xxvi, p. 17.

3. In its Prakrit from *araka*, it occurs as an epithet of Sātavāhana king Vasishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi on his coin *(J. N. S I*, vol xi, p. 59*)* and of Yajña-śrī Sātakarṇi in his Cinna inscription *(J. N. S. I.*, 1920), p. 328.

himself It was only executed by Arthapati In ll 21-24, Arthapati is said to have got the copper plates engraved to record a pious gift calculated to increase the religious merit and fame of his father and mother[1] If the grant had been made by his grandfather, the reference to the increase of the religious merit and fame of his parents by Arthapati would have been out of place Besides, both the Riddhapur and Kesaribeda plates were written by the same Confidential Officer Chulla[2] This would show that they were not separated by a long period of time It seems therefore that Arthapati was the immediate successor of Bhavadatta and that they were not separated by another ruler like Skandavarman as supposed by Dr Majumdar This is also corroborated by the recently discovered hoard of gold coins from the Bastar State This hoard contained the coins of Bhavadatta and Arthapati, but not those of Skandavarman[3] If Skandavarman had preceded Arthapati, his coins also, in all probablity, would have been found with those of his predecessors

As I have shown elsewhere,[4] it was Bhavadattavarman who invaded the Vakataka kingdom and established himself at Nandivardhana, the erstwhile capital of the Vakatakas This evidently happened during the reign of Narendrasena, the son and successor of Pravarasena II We learn from an incomplete grant of Narendrasena's son Prithivishena II that the fortunes of the dynasty were at a low ebb during the preceding reign[5] Bhavadattavarman s Riddhapur plates were issued during his rule in Vidarbha, and record the grant of a village in that part of the country Arthapati seems to have been looking after the administration of the kingdom during the lifetime of his father He is mentioned with the title *Maharaja* at the end of the grant

The Nalas seem to have soon lost Vidarbha, for we have no grant of any other Nala king from Vidarbha The Kesaribedā

1 *Ep Ind* vol xix p 103
2 *Ibid* p 103 *J B R S* vol xxxiv p. 41
3 *J N S I* vol I pp 29 f
4 *Ep Ind* vol xxii pp 211 f
5 *Ibid*, vol ix p 271.

plates were issued from the old Nala capital Pushkarī, which shows that Arthapati had to retire to his ancestral kingdom probably soon after the death of Bhavadatta. The Vākāṭaka king Prithivīshēṇa II not only recovered his lost kingdom, but also carried the war into the enemy's territory and stormed and burnt Pushkarī. The town was afterwards resettled by another son of Bhavadatta named Skandavarman who seems to have succeeded Arthapati.[1]

There are some other inaccuracies in Mr. Ramdas's article besides those noticed by Dr. Majumdar. He takes the expression *Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātisrishṭa-rājya-vibhavaḥ* used to describe the ruling king in both the Riddhapur and Kesaribeḍā grants to mean 'who has created the supreme authority of administration of the kingdom with (such officers as) Maheśvara and Mahāsena.' This is a novel interpretation.[2] This expression has long been misinterpreted. It was first known to occur on a seal found at Bhīṭā in the following form—[3] *Śrī-Vindhyavedhana-Mahārājasya Mahāsen-ātisrishṭa-rājyasya vrisha-dhvajasya Gautamīputrasya.* Marshall translated it as follows—'Of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputra-Vrishadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who has made over his kingdom to the Great Lord Kārttikeya'. He interpreted it as indicating that 'in ancient times there may have existed a pious custom, according to which rulers on the occasion of their accession entrusted their kingdom to their *ishṭa-devatā* and considered themselves as their mere agents.' The translation and interpretation have misled many scholars Jayaswal[4] and J. N. Banerji[5] have approvingly cited or referred to them in their works. All these scholars have evidently dissolved the compound *Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātisrishṭa-rājyasya* as *Maheśvarāya Mahāsenāya atisrishṭaṁ rajyaṁ yena tasya.* Its correct dissolution however is *Maheśvareṇa Mahāsenena atisrishṭaṁ rājyaṁ yasmai tasya.* The expression

1. *Ibid.*, vol. xxi, p. 153.
2. Mr. Ramdas has mistaken *atisrishṭa* (bestowed) for *srishṭa* (created).
3. *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, 1911-12, p. 5?.
4. *History of India etc.*, p. 528.
5. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 180-7.

should therefore be taken to mean that the king believed that he had obtained his kingdom by the grace of the great Lord Mahāsena (Kārttikeya)[1] Similar expressions indicating the belief that the particular royal family was created or protected by a certain deity occur in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, Chālukyas and other royal families also There is therefore no reference here to the dedication of the kingdom to any deity or to the administration of it with any officers

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1 Mr Gupte, who edited the Riddhapur plates has already given this interpretation in his translation (see *Ep Ind* vol xix, 104) though he took Maheśvara to mean Śiva as distinct from Mahāsena Kārttikeya) It is also possible that both Maheśvara and Mahāsena refer to Śiva Mahāsena as a name of Śiva occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsanaparvan adhyāya* 17, v 72) It is noteworthy that the coins of the Nalas have the figure of Śiva's bull

21. THE RULE OF THE VISHṆUKUṆḌINS IN MAHĀRĀSHṬRA*

The history of Mahārāshṭra in the period following the downfall of the Vākāṭakas is still obscure. The Vākāṭakas disappear from the stage of history in *circa* A. D. 500. The Kalachuris rose to power about A. D. 550 and soon extended their sway over Northern Mahārāshṭra. The Early Rāshṭrakūṭas were ruling over Kuntala or Southern Mahārāshṭra in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., but we have no records of this dynasty in the period immediately following the downfall of the Vākāṭakas. The period of about 50 years (A. D. 500-500) is still blank in the history of Mahārāshṭra. It is proposed to shed some light on it in the present article.

This period saw the rise of a mightly Emperor in Āndhra. The invasion by Harisheṇa led to the establishment of a new dynasty in that part of the country. Harisheṇa seems to have placed *Mahārāja* Govindavarman of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty on the throne of Āndhra and formed a matrimonial alliance with him by giving a Vākāṭaka princess, perhaps his own daughter, in marriage to his son Mādhavavarman I. After Harisheṇa's death there was confusion and chaos in his realm owing to the imbecility of his successor. This state of the country is reflected in the story of Viśruta in the eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracharita*. The Vākāṭaka prince who succeeded Harisheṇa was killed in an encounter with the king of Vanavāsī who invaded Vidarbha. The country was then occupied by the king of Aśmaka, an erstwhile feudatory of the Vākāṭakas.

This debacle afforded a favourable opportunity to the ambitious Vishṇukuṇḍin prince Mādhavavarman I. By his relationship with the Vākāṭakas he must have considered himself a rightful heir to the Vākāṭaka Empire. He embarked on an

* *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Eleventh Session, pp. pp. 43 f.

extensive scheme of *digvijaya* and soon brought Mahārāshtra, Vidarbha, Dakshina Kosala and Karnātaka under his sway. He then performed several *srauta* sacrifices such as Bahusuvarna, Pundarika, Purushamedha, Vajapeya, Shodaśin, Rājasūya, Prādhirajya and Prajāpatya, besides a thousand Agnishṭomas and as many as eleven Aśvamedhas. This long list of sacrifices is regarded as suspicious. It has been suggested that the Aśvamedhas were minor sacrifices and were performed even by feudatories. The description in early Sanskrit works does not support this view. The Aśvamedha was the proclamation of one's supremacy over the whole country.[1] Mādhavavarman I who claims to have performed as many as eleven Aśvamedhas—more than those of any other known king of the historic period—must have been ruling over a large part of Southern India.

Corroboration of Madhavavarman's supremacy in the Deccan in this period is slowly coming to light. Several years ago I showed, while editing the Ṭhakurdiya plates of Maha Pravararaja, that the expression *Trivara nagara bhavana gata parama yuvati jana viharana ratih* or *Trivara nagara bhavana gata yuvati hridaya nandanah* which occurs in both the known grants of Madhavavarman I indicates that he had defeated Tivararaja of the Pandavavamśi dynasty and occupied his capital for a time. I also suggested at the time that Madhavavarman I must have conquered Maharashtra as his grandson Madhavavarman II is described in the Ipur plates as the lord of Trikuta and Malaya mountains. I wrote then as follows, As Madhavavarman I had a long reign of more than 40 years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him. Madhavavarman II, the grandson of Madhavavarman I who calls himself the lord of Trikūta and Malaya mountains seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Mādhavavarman I, while another grandson, Indravarman, seems to have succeeded him in the east[2]. This conjecture which was then based only on the expression *Trikuta*

1 Cf *Uttararāmacharita* Act IV *Aśvamedha iti nāma viśvavijayinām kshatriyanām urjasvalah sarva kshtra paribhav mahan utkarsha nikashah*

2 *Ep Ind*, xxxii p 21

Malay-adhipatiḥ applied to Mādhavavarman II. Some scholars were however inclined to look with suspicion on this description. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the Ipur plates where this description occurs, remarked that both Trikūṭa and Malaya were at a safe distance from the dominion of Mādhavavarman though he claimed to have ruled over them,[1] This was therefore taken to be an empty boast of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king.

Fortunately, the corroborative evidence which was so far lacking has now come to light. More than twenty years ago, Mr. Y. R. Gupta discovered a fragmentary grant of a king named Mādhavavarman at Khānāpur in the Sātārā District, of which he published a short notice first in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 F. and again in *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (New Series), Vol. IV, p. 89. Mr. Gupta showed that the village Reṭṭuraka which was donated by the charter was identical with Reṭare-budruk which lies south west of the Krishṇa-beṇṇā or the Krishṇā as stated in the plates. Some other villages mentioned in the grant, namely, Belavāṭikā and Vaṭṭarikā can be identified with Belavaḍe and Vāṭhār in the vicinity of Reṭare-budruk. The grant thus undoubtedly belongs to Southern Mahārāshṭra. Mr. Gupta could not, however, identify Mādhavavarman as the first plate which must have contained a description of his family and some ancestors was not forthcoming. My attention was directed to this record in connection with the history of the Early Rāshṭrakūtas. The plates were then not available to me and even the fragmentary text had nowhere been published. I therefore conjectured that this Mādhavavarman might have belonged to the Early Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty which had its capital at Mānapura, modern Māṇ in the same Sātārā District.[2] I have, however, now obtained photographs and ink impressions of the second and third plates of the grant from the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍal, which sheds important light on a period of ancient history of Mahārāshṭra.

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1. *Ibid.*, vol xvii, p. 228

2. This view was set forth in my article entitled. 'The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura' in *A.B.O.R.I.* vol. xxv, pp. 36 f. See above, No. 10.

The grant is inscribed in southern characters of about the sixth century A D It is not dated, but it refers itself to the reign of *Mahāraja* Mādhavavarman. The description of the king's family and partly his own which occurred on the first plate is now lost, but the extant portion on the second plate shows that this Mādhavavarman performed several *śrauta* sacrifices such as Pundarika, Bahusuvarna and eleven others which are unspecified He is said to have assumed the title of *Sarvabhauma* (Emperor) and is eulogised as the mainstay (*setu*) of the religious duties of four *varnas* and *asramas* [1] This description, fragmentary as it is, bears striking resemblance to that of Madhavavarman I given by Vishnukundin grants For instance, the two sacrifices Pundarika and Bahusuvarna figure in the list of *srauta* sacrifices performed by that Vishnukundin king No other king of the south is credited with the performance of both these sacrifices The eleven other sacrifices which are unspecified through the inadvertence of the writer of the grant were probably Aśvamedhas This Madhavavarman was thus plainly the first homonymous king of the Vishnukundin dynasty

With the help of detailed survey maps I could identify some more villages specifying the boundaries of the donated village Reṭṭuraka Thus Machchhadarya, Senavaryā, Kolika and Malakhetaka are plainly identical with Rajamachi, Shenoli, Kola and Malakheṭa which lie in the respective directions of Reṭṭuraka These identifications clearly show that the grant undoubtedly belongs to Southern Maharashtra [2]

The Vishnukuṇḍins do not seem to have retained possession of Southern Maharashtra for a long time Madhavavarman II, who seems to have succeeded his homonymous grandfather in the west, claims that he ruled over the country stretching from

1 Cf *Pundarika Bahusuvarn aikadaśa yaj nah Sarvvabhaumasya bhāsā Bhaskarasya aiśvaryyena svayam-Indrasya chāturvvarnya-chāturaśramya dharmma karmma-setoh śri (sr) Madhavavarmano matir—utpanna* etc in line 2-4 of the grant

2 The grant has since been edited by Mr Gupte & myself in *Ep Ind.*, vol xxvii pp 312 f

Trikūṭa (near Nāsik) to Malaya (southern portion of the Western Ghats). But he or his successor seems to have soon been ousted from that part of the country; for no other Vishṇukuṇḍin records have been discovered in the West and there are no other references to the rule of that dynasty in Mahārāshṭra or Karṇāṭaka As I have shown elsewhere, Govinda who invaded the Chālukyan territory to the north of the Bhīmarathī towards the close of Maṅgaleśa's reign probably belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. In Northern Mahārāshṭra and Berar the Kalachuris established themselves in *circa* A.D. 550. Thereafter the rule of the Vishṇukuṇḍins was confined to their small principality in Āndhra.

22 A NOTE ON THE DATES OF UCHCHAKALPA KINGS*

There have been, in all, seven copper-plate inscriptions of the kings of the Uchchakalpa family discovered so far in Central India, from which we can make out the following genealogy :—

Oghadeva -m. Kumāradevī
|
Kumāradeva -m Jayasvāminī
|
Jayasvāmin -m Rāmadevī
|
Vyāghra -m Ajjhitadevī
|
Jayanātha -m Murundadevī (known dates 174, 177)
|
Śarvanātha
(known dates 191, 193, 197 and 214)

The last two kings whose copper plates have been discovered use the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in dating their records, but do not specify any era to which their dates are to be referred Nor do they, except in one case, which will be discussed below, contain any astronomical details that can be tested by calculation The Bhumra inscription states, however, that Śarvanātha was a contemporary of *Mahārāja* Hastin, who must be identified with the Hastin of the Parivrajaka family, many of whose records have been found in Central India and who was, therefore, ruling over the contiguous territory From the copper plates of the latter and his son Sankshobha we get the following genealogy —

Devadhya
|
Prabhañjana
|
Dāmodara
|
Hastin
(known dates 156, 163, 191 and 198)
|
Sankshobha
(known dates 199 and 209)

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* *Ep Ind*, Vol *XXIII*, pp 171 f

In these plates also the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter is used for dating. The expression *Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau* which occurs in all of them clearly indicates that their dates must be referred to the Gupta era, the epoch of which has been determined to be A. D. 319–320. As the kings of the Uchchakalpa family were the neighbours of those of the Parivrājaka family, who use the Gupta era in dating their records, the presumption is that the dates of the former also are in the Gupta era. It is, however, urged on the other hand that the fact that the Uchchakalpa kings, unlike their contemporaries and neighbours, the kings of the Parivrājaka family, do not specify any era in dating their records, goes to show that they used some other era. Again, the circumstance that the Bhūmrā pillar inscription, which is as much a record of the Parivrājaka king Hastin as of the Uchchakalpa Śarvanāth, does not, contrary to the practice observed in other records of the Parivrājaka kings, specify any era points to the same conclusion; for 'the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Śarvanātha, being feudatories of two rival dynasties, could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used in a joint record, and compromised the matter by quoting only the year of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, as a method of reckoning which could hurt the dignity of neither of them.'[1] Now the only era to which the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings could be referred is the Kalachuri-Chedi era, the epoch of which has been determined by Kielhorn to be A. D. 248–49. On this supposition we find that the known dates of Śarvanātha range from A. D. 439–40 to A. D. 462–63, while those of Hastin (which clearly refer to the Gupta era) are from A. D. 475–76 to A. D. 517–18. The Betul plates of Saṅkshobha, again, show that he succeeded his father in the next year G. E. 199 or A. D. 518–19. As the Kalachuri era was started 72 years before the Gupta era, we shall have to take the latest known dates of Śarvanātha and the earliest date of Hastin and see which year between the two would correspond to the Mahāmāgha *saṁvatsara* mentioned in their joint record. As stated above, the last known

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 22[?].

date of Śarvanātha would correspond to A D 462 (on the basis that it refers to the Kalachuri era), while the earliest known date of Hastin is A. D 475 There would thus be a difference of 13 years between these two dates The only year in the interval which could have been Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* is that corresponding to A D 472, but according to the calculation of Sh B Dikshit the Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* in that cycle was omitted [1] We must therefore take the next Mahāmāgha *saṁvatsara* which commenced in A D 484 This no doubt falls in the reign of Hastin, but is 22 years later than the last known date of Śarvanātha Now Śarvanatha is known to have ruled for at least 23 years before his last date viz A D 462 63, and the possibility that his reign commenced earlier than A D. 439 40 is not altogether precluded, for the last known date of his father Jayanātha is A. D 425-26 i e 14 years earlier [2] We shall therefore have to suppose that Śarvanātha reigned for more than 46 years (A D 439 to A D 484)—perhaps 50 or even 55 years Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If, on the other hand, the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings also are referred to the Gupta era, Śarvanātha becomes a contemporary of Hastin in the closing years of the latter s reign (G E 191 to G E 198) There was of course no Mahamāgha *samvatsara* in this period, but there was one only two years before in G E 189 As the year G E 191 is not the date of Śarvanātha's accession, which, as shown above, may have taken place a few years earlier, Śarvanatha will, on this supposition, have a reign of at least 26 years—which does not appear improbable

There are some other considerations also which rule out the theory that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Kalachuri era —

(1) If we except these doubtful cases of Uchchakalpa dates, there is not a single record of Central India dated in the Kalachuri era earlier than A D 973 [3] All the earlier dates in

1 *Loc cit*

2 *C I I*, Vol III, p 121

3. Chandrehe inscription of Prabodhaśiva dated K. 724 *Ep. Ind*, Vol XXI, pp 148 f, *C I I*, Vol IV, pp 198 f

this era come from Gujarat and Thana and Nāsik Districts in Bombay.[1] R. B. Hiralal's theory[2] that the Traikūṭakas, whom he identifies with the Kalachuris, were the founders of the era and the Trikūṭa *from which they hailed is modern Satpurā is un*tenable; for not a single record of the Traikūṭakas has been found in Central India and what little evidence is available about the identity of Trikūṭa points to its location in Western India.[3]

(2) Vyāghra, the grandfather of the Uchchakalpa king Śarvanātha appears, on palaeographic evidence, *to be identical* with the Vyāghradeva of the Nachnā[4] and Ganj[5] inscriptions, who was a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka *Pṛithivīshena* II, as shown by Dubreuil[6] and Dikshit.[7] The Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivīshena II state that the kings Makalā and Mālava were feudatories of his father Narendrasena[8] and there is no difficulty in supposing that Pṛithivīshena's authority was recognised in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A. D. As for the difficulty pointed out by Aiyangar[9] (who identifies the Vyāghradeva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions with the Vyāghrarāja defeated by Samudragupta), viz., how could Jayanātha and Śarvanātha, who, *on the above supposition*, were feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, date their records in the Gupta era, it may be noted that the Vākāṭakas never founded any era and do not seem to have insisted as their feudatories specifically mentioning their suzerainty in their records. The Traikūṭakas[10]

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1. See Nos. 1193—1221 in Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions.*

2. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 233 f.

3. Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa on the Western coast. See *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto IV, vv. 58-59. The matter is now placed beyond doubt by the mention of the *Pūrva-Trikūṭa-vishaya* in the Añjaneri (Nāsik District) plates. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 146 f.

4. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 f.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 f.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, pp. 103 f.

7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 362.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

9. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 224.

10. Cf. *Inscription No. 3 in the Ajanta Cave XVI* (A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, pp. 124 f.); also Hyderabad Arch. *Series*, No. 14.

and the kings of Śarabhapura,[1] who were evidently their feudatories, do not mention any suzerain power in their charters It is not again true that the use of a particular era signifies acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the power that founded it The Kalachuri-Chedi era is, for instance, found used by the Sendrakas and the Chālukyas of Gujarat, though they were not then the feudatories of the Traikūṭakas, Ābhīras, Kalachuris or any other power that may have founded it The fact of the matter seems to be that the earlier Uchchakalpas were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Gupta era in dating their records Vyāghra, who flourished about A D 475, seems to be the first Uchchakalpa king who transferred his allegiance to the Vākāṭakas His successors Jayanātha and Śarvanātha continued to use the Gupta era, which was well established in the country, though they were no feudatories of the Guptas The expression *Gupta nṛpa rājya bhuktau*, which occurs in the records of the Parivrājakas, indicates not so much the Gupta era as the sovereignty of the Guptas Hence we find it omitted in the records of the Uchchakalpa *Mahārājas* Śarvanātha might have objected to the use of the expression in the joint record on the Bhumrā pillar, which, therefore, does not contain it As for the omission of the date, it must have been thought unnecessary in an inscription on a boundary pillar when the particular year was clearly specified

(3) Nearly all the scholars who have recently written on the subject have accepted the view that the Uchchakalpa records are dated in the Gupta era Kielhorn, though he gives these dates under the Kalachuri era, was not certain about the matter[2] Fleet seems to have long wavered between two alternatives While editing the Uchchakalpa records in *C I I*, Vol III, pp 117 f, he held the view that they were dated in the Gupta era When later on he came to write the introduction,[3]

1 *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI p 22

2 In the Supplement to his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (*Ep Ind*, Vol VIII) he expressed his opinion that the inscriptions of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa are dated very probably according to the Gupta era

3 *C I I* Vol III, Introduction pp 8 10 119, 121

he felt inclined to the other view, which he affirmed subsequently in his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, pp. 227 f. In his last article on the subject,[1] he finally adopted the view that the Uchchakalpa dates must be referred to the Gupta era. Dubreuil,[2] G. S. Ojha,[3] Haldar[4] and Dikshit,[5] who had occasion to write on the subject, subscribed to the sama view. S.K. Aiyangar, though he does not accept the identification of the Uchchakalpa Vyāghra with Vyāghradeva who caused the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions to be incised, finds no difficulty in referring the Uchchakalpa dates to the Gupta era. The only dissentient is D. R. Bhandarkar, who points out the difficulty[6] that if the year of the Sohawal plates is taken as the Gupta year, the month Āshāḍha should be intercalary, but in none of the years 509, 510, 511 and 512, which might be taken to correspond to G. E. 191, was it so. "Perhaps this date," says Prof. Bhandarkar, "*ekona-navaty-uttare* is intended for *eka-navaty-uttare*, which is not unlikely as we know that when there are two or more identical letters or words one or more are inadvertently omitted by the writer or the engraver. . This date 189, if referred to the Gupta era, becomes equivalent to A. D. 507, but even then there was no intercalary Āshāḍha in 506, 507, 508 or 509. On the other hand, if we refer 189 to the Kalachuri era, we obtain A. D. 437 as its English equivalent. And we find an intercalary month of Āshāḍha in A. D. 437[7]" The difficulty pointed out by Bhandarkar is more apparent than real; for as Dikshit has

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 566.
2. *Ind. Ant.*. Vol. LV, p. 103.
3. *Annual Report*, Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer, 1923-24, p. 2.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 123.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI. pp. 125-26.
6. See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 157, n. 5,
7. Even this view is not free from difficulties. According to the epoch which *suits early* Kalachuri dates, the English equivalent for the present date occurring in Āshāḍha would be expected to fall in A.D. 438 or 439. According to the epoch which suits later Kalachuri dates it should fall in A.D. 438. If the year is taken as expired *as is usually the case. If the year is taken as current*, it will, of course, fall in A.D. 437, but such cases are exceptional, apart from the fact that the epoch determined by Kielhorn does not suit early dates.

shown,[1] the month intercalated in the Gupta year 191 (which, according to the rules of intercalations was Śrāvaṇa) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul plates of Sankshobha An authority for such a custom has, again, been recently pointed out[2] No valid objection therefore remains to the view that the dates of the Uchchakalpas are in the Gupta era

(4) The drafting of the Uchchakalpa records and the symbol on their seals indicate that the Uchchakalpas rose to power after the Guptas In the genealogical portions of their inscriptions we find the same form used as in the Gupta records[3] Unfortunately, nearly all the seals of the Uchchakalpa plates are lost, but from the one specimen that has been described by Fleet[4] it seems that the Uchchakalpa kings formed their seals on the model of those of the Guptas There is no such resemblance noticeable between the records of the Uchchakalpas and those of the Early Kalachuris

The foregoing discussion must have shown that the view that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Gupta era is the probable one in the present state of our knowledge

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1 *Ep. Ind* Vol XXI p 125

2 *Ind an Culture* Vol. I p 693

3 See e g the names of queens are mentioned along with those of the ruling princes in the Uchchakalpa plates as in the Mathurā stone inscription of Chandragupta II (*C I I* Vol III p 25) the Bilsad stone pillar inscription of Kumāragupta I (*ibid* p 42) etc

4 *C I I* Vol III p 125

23. NEW LIGHT ON YASODHARMAN*

In a recent number of the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XXX, Part IV) Dr. D. C. Sircar has edited two interesting inscriptions of a king named Gauri. The first of these was found at Choti Sadri near Neemuch station on the Ajmer-Khandwa railway line. It is dated in the year 547, which, in view of its palæography, must be referred to the Vikrama era. Its object is to record the construction of a temple of the Devī by king Gauri of the Mānavāyani family. It gives the following genealogy of the king :—

Puṇyasoma
|
Rājyavardhana
|
Rāshṭra (called Rāshṭravardhana in the
| second inscription)
Yaśogupta
|
Mahārāja Gauri

The second inscription which is fragmentary and undated was found at Mandasor (ancient Daśapura). Its object is to record that *Mahārāja* Gauri excavated a tank in the suburb of Daśapura for the religious merit of his deceased mother. It gives the following genealogy of king Gauri :—

Rāshṭravardhana
|
Yaśogupta
|
Mahārāja Gauri

This inscription mentions the name of a king named Ādityavardhana immediately after the intial *maṅgala-śloka* in praise of Vishṇu. He is said to have defeated his enemies and done something to a town whose name contained the word *daśa* (probably Daśapura).[1] As the name of Ādityavardhana is used in the locative case, the intended meaning seems to be that he was ruling at the time. Who this Ādityavardhana was and

* *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 314 f.

what relation he bore to king Gauri are matters of conjecture. Dr Sircar mentions three possibilities: (i) As this inscription is of king Gauri who was ruling in V. 547, it falls in the period of Hūṇa occupation of Malwa (c. A D 484-532) If Ādityavardhana was the suzerain of king Gauri, he may be identical with the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa or Mihirakula, (ii) Ādityavardhana may be a second name of king Gauri himself As a result of the establishment of Hūṇa supremacy in Malwa, the Aulikaras were ousted from Daśapura and the Mānavāyanis were established there, (iii) Ādityavardhana belonged to the Aulikara family and ruled at Daśapura, king Guari being his relative or feudatory Dr Sircar rejects the first view, but he is unable to decide which of the other two is correct, though it appears that he is inclined to accept the second

The inscriptions do not state where the capital of king Gauri and his ancestors was situated Dr Sircar seems to think that Daśapura was the capital of Ādityavardhana and that king Gauri excavated the tank there as his mother had died at the capital of his overlord [1] There is no basis for this conjecture King Gauri may himself have been ruling from Daśapura and his mother may have died at her son's capital Verse 2 which is fragmentary, gives no clear indication on this point In making the above supposition, Dr Sircar was perhaps guided by the usually accepted view that Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana was ruling from Daśapura where he erected his victory pillars But of this also we have no indication in any inscription The occurence of royal names ending in *vardhana* in both the Aulikara and Mānavayani families has made the matter complicated I shall, however, adduce some fresh evidence to show that the Aulikaras were, in later times ruling not from Daśapura but from Ujjayinī and that Ādityavardhana probably belonged to that very family

In this connection I wish to draw the attention of scholars to the following passage in Varāhamihira s *Bṛhatsamhita* (adhyaya

1 The name Daśapura appears in a fragmentary form The metre appears defective

lxxxvi, verses 1-4).

यच्छक्रशुक्रवागीशकपिष्ठलगरुत्मताम् ।
मतेभ्यः प्राह ऋषभो भागुरेर्देवलस्य च ॥१॥
भारद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यच्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनः ।
आवन्तिकः प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजकः ॥२॥
सप्तर्षीणां मतं यच्च संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च यत् ।
यानि चोक्तानि गर्गाद्यैर्यात्राकारैश्च भूरिभिः ॥३॥
तानि दृष्ट्वा चकारेमं सर्वशाकुनसंग्रहम् ।
वराहमिहिरः प्रीत्या शिष्याणां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥४॥

In this passage Varāhamihira tells us that he has written the chapter on *śakunas* (omens) after considering the views of several previous writers on the subject such as Śakra, Śukra, Bṛihaspati etc. Curiously enough there is among these one Dravyavardhana of Avanti who is described as *Mahārājādhirāja*. We are further told that this Dravyavardhana had written a work on *śakunas* after considering the views of a previous writer named Bhāradvāja. The mention of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of Avanti as a writer on *śakunas* has puzzled many scholars. In a learned article on Varāhamihira and Utpala,[1] Dr. P. V. Kane says, 'It would be very useful if antiquarians can find out this king Dravyavardhana of Ujjayinī. To me it is a new kingly name. Whether there is any connection of this king with the family to which Emperor Harshavardhana belonged is more than I can say.' I shall try to shed some light on this problem.

The information given by Varāhamihira is of great historical importance. It is not based on hearsay. He was himself a resident of Ujjayinī[2] and had actually read the work of Dravy-vardhana. Further, we have definite information about the age in which Varāhamihira lived. His *Pañchasiddhāntikā* was probably composed in Śaka 427 (A.D. 505).[3] Dravyavadhana, whom

1. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vols. XXIV-XXV, pp. 1 f.

2. Cf. *Bṛhajjātaka*, Upasaṁhārādhyāya, v. 9—आदित्यदासतनयस्तदवाप्तबोधः कापित्थके सवितृलब्धवरप्रसादः । आवन्तिको मुनिमतान्यवलोक्य सम्यग्घोरां वराहमिहिरो रुचिरां चकार ॥१॥

3. Ho bas taken *S.* 427 as the initial year for calculation.

he mentions as his predecessor, must have been ruling from Avanti some time before the beginning of the sixth century A D

The name of Dravyavardhana recalls another name ending in *vardhana* famous in Indian history viz Yaśodharman-Vishnuvardhana, who defeated the Hūna king Mihirakula and erected two pillars of victory at Mandasor[1] We have thus three names ending in *vardhana* of the kings who flourished in this period, *viz*

Ādityavardhana (contemporary of king Gauri, whose known date is V. 547)
|
Dravyavardhana (flourished before V 561)
|
Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana (known date V 589)

The first and last of these kings were connected in some way or other with Daśapura (Mandasor) Let us therefore take a brief resume of the history of this town from the fifth century A D

From several inscriptions discovered at Mandasor or in the neighbouring country, we get the following genealogy of the Aulikara kings who ruled at Daśapura —

Jayavarman
|
Siṁhavarman
|
Naravarman (known dates V. 461 and V 474)
|
Viśvavarman (known date V 480)
|
Bandhuvarman (known date V 493)

We have no definite information about the successors of Bandhuvarman The Mandasor inscription[2] dated V 529 tells us that within thirty six years (V 493 to 529) at least three kings ruled at Daśapura This indicates the state of turmoil that overtook that part of the country in that period The last of these princes was Prabhakara, whose inscription dated only five years before, i e in V 524 (A D 467 68), has recently been

1 *CII* vol III Nos 33 and 34

2 *Ibid*, vol III No 18 lines 19 and 20 Cf बहुना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः। व्यशीर्यतैकदेशोऽस्य भवनस्य ततोऽधुना ॥

published.[1] He probably belonged to the same Aulikara family, though it is not stated so explicitly. *Prabhākara is said to* have fought with the enemies of the Guptas. Who these were is not known. Just about this time Skandagupta died and there was a dispute about succession to the Gupta throne. The Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena who flourished in this period claims the king of Mālava among his feudatories.[2] So it is not unlikely that some rulers of Malwa, taking advantage of the debacle in the Gupta kingdom, sided with the Vākāṭakas, but ultimately Prabhākara seems to have defeated them and established Gupta supremacy in Malwa.

Till now we had no records from Daśapura for the period following V. 529 until the rise of Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana, of whose reign we have the Mandasor inscription dated V. 589. The inscriptions now published by Dr. Sircar throw some welcome light on this period. The fragmentary Mandasor inscription, whose date is now lost, shows that the town was included within the dominion of king Gauri of the Mānavāyani family. Ādityavardhana, whose name, is mentioned in the beginning of the record, was evidently his suzerain. We have some records of other dynasties also which mention the name of the reigning king's suzerain in a similar manner.[3] Ādityavardhana is not likely to have been another name of king Gauri himself, since there is no mention of it in the other inscription of his reign discovered at Sadadi. Like Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana, Ādityavardhana also probably belonged to the Aulikara family.

If Ādityavardhana's feudatory, king Gauri of the Mānavāyani family, was holding Daśapura and the adjoining territory, Ādityavardhana himself must have been ruling from some other place. The inscriptions give us no information on this point, but the aforecited passage from the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* which mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of Avanti suggests that like him Ādityavardhana also might have been ruling from Ujjayinī.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, vol XXVII, pp. 145 f.
2. *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 271.
3. See e.g. verse 2 in the Surat plates of *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya, *CII.*, vol. IV, p. 134.

In that case far from being ousted from Daśapura by the Hūnas, Ādityavardhana or his immediate ancestor may have conquered considerable territory to the south of Daśapura and then shifted his capital to Ujjayini. Thereafter he seems to have established at Daśapura the Manavayani feudatory family, whose records have been found not only at Daśapura but also as far north as Sadadi near Neemuch.

Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana, who ruled from Avanti or Ujjayini, also flourished in this very period. He cannot be referred to an earlier age, for from the first to the fourth century A D Ujjayini was the capital of the Western Kshatrapas. Thereafter it came under the Guptas and was probably their capital for the western and central provinces of the Gupta empire. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana could not, therefore, have been in occupation of Ujjayini till the death of Skandagupta, which occurred in c A D 467. Some time thereafter, Ādityavardhana appears to have marched on and occupied Ujjayini when the Gupta empire was tottering owing to the revolt of the feudatories. As the known date of his feudatory Gauri is V 547 (A D 490 91), Ādityavardhana may be referred to the period c V 532–552 (A D 475–495). He was evidently the successor of Prabhakara mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of V 524. The next known Aulikara king is Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana, who was ruling in V 589. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of Avanti mentioned by Varahamihira (c first half of the sixth century A D) must therefore be placed in the period V 552 to 589. He may have ruled from c V 552 to 572 (A D 495–515). **He was thus a predecessor of Yaśodharman and may have been his father.**

The aforecited passage from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* thus suggests that the later Aulikara kings Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Vishnuvardhana (Yasodharman) ruled from Ujjayini. This is also corroborated by the Mandasor inscription of V 589. It tells us that the country between the Vindhya and Pariyatra (Aravali) mountains was being governed by one Nirdosha, who was a *Rājasthānīya* appointed by Yaśodharman and had his

headquarters at Daśapura.[1] This clearly indicates that Yaśodharman himself was ruling not from Daśapura but from some other place like Ujjayinī.

How is it then, it may be asked, that *Yaśodharman's* victory pillars are found at Daśapura? It is not difficult to answer this question. The pillars *commemorate the memorable victory* which Yaśodharman obtained over the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. *The battle appears to have been fought at Daśapura,* about *75* miles north by west of Ujjayinī. Hence the memorable pillars were *erected at Daśapura, the site of the battle, and not at* Ujjayinī, the capital of Yaśodharman.

The foregoing discussion will have shown that Yaśodharman was not an upstart. His predecessors Ādityavardhana and Dravyavardhana had assumed imperial titles and made the Aulikara family famous as stated in the Mandasor inscription.[2] Further, all these kings were ruling from Ujjayinī.

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1 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 151. The name of the Viceroy was Nirdosha, not Daksha, as shown by Kielhorn.

2 Cf. प्रख्यात औलिकरलाञ्छन आत्मवंशो येनोदितोदितपदं गमितो गरीयः ॥ *C. I. I.*, vol. III, p. 153.

24. THE PĀṆḌAVA DYNASTY OF MEKALĀ*

The Bamhanī plates of the Pāṇḍavavaṁśī king Bharatabala recently published by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra[1] have thrown a flood of light on the ancient history of Vindhya Pradesh.[2] Before their discovery the Pāṇḍava dynasty[3] was known only from copper-plates and stone inscriptions found in the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. These kings were again referred by Kielhorn to the eighth and subsequent centuries A. D. About fifteen years ago, the present writer showed for the first time that Tīvaradeva, the oldest known king whose records had till then been discovered in Chhattisgarh, flourished in about the middle of the sixth century A. D.[4] This date has since then been generally accepted by scholars. The early history of this royal family was, however, not known. The Bamhanī plates discovered by Dr. Chhabra as well as some other records recently found in Chhattisgarh have now made it possible to give a connected history of this family from the Gupta age onwards.

The Bamhanī plates give the following genealogy—

Jayabala
|
(son)
Vatsarāja m. Droṇabhaṭṭārikā.
|
(son)
Nāgabala m. Indrabhaṭṭārikā
|
(son)
Bharatabala *alias* Indra m. Lokaprakāśā (a princess of Kosalā)

* *Indica* (The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume), pp. 288 f.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp 132 f.

2. Dr. Chhabra first published a short note on these plates in the *Bhārata Kaumudī*, I, pp. 215 f The information contained therein was utilised by me in my article "Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahakosala' published in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, (K. N. Dikshit Memorial Volume, pp. 47 f) See No. 26, below

3. This dynasty is called *Somavaṁśa* in some later records such as the copper-plate grants of Mahā Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna. Still later grants of a family which also calls itself Somavaṁśī have been found in the Sambalpur District of Orissa, but scholars are not yet agreed about the identification of these two families.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, pp. 18f. See No. 25 below.

Dr. Chhabra has shown that the last of these kings[1] was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Narendrasena who flourished from *circa* A. D. 435 to 470.[2] He, therefore, places Jayabala, the progenitor of this royal family, in A. D. 400.

Dr. Chhabra has not given any information about the origin of this dynasty or about any ancestors of Jayabala. The affix *bala* noticed at the end of the names of three out of the four known kings of this family, however, affords a clue. Recently another prince whose name also ended in *bala* and who flourished in the same part of the country as Jayabala and his descendents viz. *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabala has become known from an inscription of his son *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa, discovered at Bandhogarh, about 60 miles north-west of Bamhanī. These two—Bhadrabala and Vaiśravaṇa—are generally identified with the Magha kings *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha and *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa, whose stone inscriptions ranging from the year 81 to the year 107 of an unspecified era have been discovered at Kosam near Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh, but this identification is open to question ; for, (i) no other king of the Magha dynasty has a name ending in *bala*, and (ii) the titles of Bhadramagha and Bhadrabala are different ; while the latter was only a *Mahāsenāpati*, the former was a *Mahārāja*. Again, *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha's successor Vaiśravaṇa was also a *Mahārāja*, while *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabala's son Vaiśravaṇa was only a *Rājan*. Dr. Chhabra

1. *Dr. Chhabra has expressed some doubts about the second name* Indra of Bharatabala, but v. 5 seems to be capable of no other interpretation. The repetition of his comparison with Indra, the lord of gods, also points in the same direction ; see verses 6 and 8. For similar comparisons suggested by the name Devarāja of the Early Rāshṭrakūṭa Dynasty, see the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli and Uṇḍikavāṭikā plates, *M. A. S. R.*, for 1929, pp. 197f. *J. B. B.R.A. S.*, XVI, pp. 65f.

2. This date was conjecturally given by Jayaswal. See his *History of India*, etc., p. 79. I would place Narendrasena slightly later in the period A. D. 450 to 470. He is not likely to have had a longer reign as his father Pravarasena II ruled for a long period of about 30 years. See my article on Vākāṭaka chronology in *I. H. Q.*, XXIV, pp. 143 f.

has sought to explain away the difference in the titles by suggesting that *Mahāsenāpati* may have been a title of nobility and need not be taken in the sense of an army-commander, and that Vaiśravaṇa who gained more eminence than his father assumed at first the title *Rājan* which was afterwards changed to *Mahārāja* when he became more powerful.[1] Dr. Altekar, on the other hand, supposes that Bhadrabala was probably a junior member of the family, possibly a younger brother of Bhadramagha.[2] Neither of these explanations appears convincing; for, the title *Mahāsenāpati* of Bhadrabala occurs in a record of his son *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa. If this Bhadrabala was identical with *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha, his son Vaiśravaṇa would, no doubt, have used the higher title *Mahārāja* while referring to him. Even if we suppose that Bhadrabala did not come to the throne, but his son Vaiśravana succeeded Śivamagha as conjectured by Dr. Altekar, it looks strange that he should use the lower title of *Rājan* in his record at Bandhogarh; for, even in the Kosam inscription of the year 107 which belongs to the early part in his reign he uses the title *Mahārāja* *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa's inscription is not dated and as it has not yet been published, it is not possible to conjecture the period in which he flourished from the evidence of palaeography[3]. It seems, however, that Bhadrabala was only an army-commander of the contemporary Magha king. His son Vaiśravaṇa who bears the title of *Rājan* may have been ruling over a small principality near Bandhogarh where he has left two undated inscriptions[4] These two appear to have been

1 *Ancient India*, No. 5 p 52

2. *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, I, p 158 f

3. The inscriptions have since been published by N. P. Chakravati in *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXXI, pp 185 86 He makes *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabala the originator of the Bandhogarh line but admits it as a puzzling feature that the language of Vaiśravaṇa's records seems to be Sanskrit and not Prakrit like the other records from Bandhogarh (*Ibid*, Vol XXXI, p 176) There is nothing puzzling if *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa and his father *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabala are differentiated from the homonymous princes with the title *Mahārāja*, whose records have been found at Kauśāmbi, as shown here.

4. Early records of the sixth century A D. mention *rājan* among persons to whom royal orders about grants of land are communicated Like *Sāmanta* who is also mentioned in the same connection, he was a feudatory prince See, e g Abhoṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated K. 347, *Ep Ind.*, IX, pp. 296 f.

the ancestors of Jayabala, the first king of the Pāṇḍava dynasty mentioned in the Bamhanī plates.

Till now eight Magha kings are known *viz* Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena, Prishṭhaśriya, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa, Gautamīputra Śivamagha, Bhīmavarman, Śatamagha[1] and Vijayamagha. The dates of the first six of these range from the year 51 to the year 139. Śatamagha and Vijyamagha are known only from their coins. Besides these, one more ruler Lakshmaṇa whose two copper-plate grants—both dated in the same year 158[2]—have been discovered,—one at Pali near Kosam and the other at Singrauli in the former Reva State,—probably belonged to the same royal family. I have suggested elswhere[3] that Balavarman, a ruler of Āryāvarta or North India who was exterminated by Samudragupta, also belonged to the Magha dynasty. If this is correct, Jayabala, who has conjecturally been referred to about 400 A. D., may have been raised to power by Samudragupta, after he overthrew the Maghas. The dominion of the Maghas extended over a large territory from Fatehpur in the North to Bandhogarh in the South. After their overthrow Samudragupta seems to have annexed the fertile territory of the Vatsa country and parcelled out the hilly country of Baghelkhand among a number of feudatories such as the Parivrājakas, Uchchakalpas and Pāṇḍavas. Jayabala and his son Vatsarāja, though they have no royal title prefixed to their names,[4] were

1. On the published coins of this king, only the name *Śata* is clear, *J. N. S. I.*, IV, pp. 10 f.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 361 f. and *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1936-37, p. 88. This date is usually referred to the Gupta era, but in that case it looks strange that *Mahārāja* Lakshmaṇa ruling about 478 A. D. makes no mention of his Gupta suzerain. It seems better to refer this date to the Śaka era. As there is a difference of only about 19 years between this date and the last known date of Bhīmavarman and two kings Śatamagha and Vijayamagha appear to have flourished in the interval, Lakshmaṇa probably succeeded Vijayamagha and may have belonged to the Magha dynasty.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 304.

4. *It is also possible that no royal title is prefixed to the names of these* two princes in the Bamhanī plates as their description occurs in verse. The next two princes are described both in prose and verse.

probably feudatories of the Guptas. If early records of this dynasty belonging to the reigns of these two princes are discovered, they will, in all probability, be found dated in the Gupta era. Nāgabala, who seems to have come to the throne when the Gupta Empire was tottering owing to the onslaughts of the Hūṇas, first assumed the title of *Mahārāja* indicative of his rising power and prestige. He formed a matrimonial alliance with the ruler of Kosalā by getting the latter's daughter Lokaprakāśā married to his son Bharatabala. Dr. Chhabra thinks that the ruler of Kosalā also belonged to the Pāṇḍava dynasty.[1] This is manifestly impossible; for, supposing that there was a Pāṇḍava family ruling over Southern Kosalā (Chhattisgarh) in this period, it must have been regarded as *sagotra*, if not *samānodaka*, of the family ruling over the territory round Bandhogarh. Hindu Dharamaśāstra does not allow marriages between *samānodakas* or *sagotras*.[2] As a matter of fact, Kosalā was then ruled by a scion of the Śūra dynasty. The Ārang plates of Bhīmasena II, which, as I have shown elsewhere,[3] are dated in the Gupta year 182 (501 02 A. C.) mention five ancestors of the grantor *viz.* Śūra, Dayita (or Dayitavarman I), Bibhīshaṇa, Bhīmasena I and Dayitavarman II, who apparently ruled in Chhattisgarh uninterruptedly for about a hundred years[4] The progenitor of the family seems to have risen to power about 400 A C. He may have been the successor of Mahendra who had submitted to the Gupta Emperor Samudraguta and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. Lokaprakāśa who married Bharatabala was probably a daughter of the king Bhīmasena I of Dakshiṇa Kosala.

Bharatabala, who flourished in *circa* A.D. 460–480, makes a veiled reference to his suzerain, the Vākāṭaka Narendrasena (*circa* A D. 450-470) He seems to have transferred his allegiance from the Guptas to the Vakāṭakas. In the Balaghat plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, Narendrasena's commands are said to have been honoured by the rulers of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava.

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 138
2 Cf *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya III, v 2
3 *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 228 f, *B. D. C. R. I.*, VII, pp. 51 f.
4 *Ep. Ind*, IX, pp 267 f.

The extension of the Vākāṭaka Empire north of the Narmadā is also indicated by the *Nachna and Ganj* inscriptions of *Mahārāja* Vyāghra, a feudatory of Narendrasena's son Pṛithivīshena II.[1]

How long this Pāṇḍava family continued to rule from Bandhogarh is not known. Later records of this dynasty have been discovered in the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The copper-plate grants of Tīvaradeva and the stone inscriptions of Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna give the following genealogy:—[2]

- Udayana
  - Indrabala
    - Īśānadeva
    - Nannadeva
      - Tīvaradeva
      - Chandragupta
        - Harshagupta
          - Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna
            - Śivanandin
          - Raṇakesarin

The copper-plates of Tīvaradeva mention this family as Pāṇḍavavaṃśa. The Ārang stone inscription of Nannarāja[3] also calls it by the same name. This shows that the two families—one ruling in the country round *Bandhogarh and the other* in Chhattisgarh—were related to each other, but the connecting link is nowhere mentioned. If Tīvaradeva came to the throne in *circa* A. D. 550 Udayana, who flourished three generations earlier, *must be referred to the period* c. A. D. 480-500.[4] We

1 *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 233 f. ; *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 12 f.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 18.

3 This inscription was previously relegated to Bhandak, but as I have shown elsewhere, it was really found at Āraṅg. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 227, n. 2 ; B.D.C.R.I., VIII, p. 50, n. 9

4 There were three reigns in this period. It is therefore taken to be of 70 years.

have seen that Bharatabala *alias* Indra ruled in the period c A D. 450 480 Udayana, who seems to have flourished immediately after Bharatabala, may have been his son This is also suggested by the name of his son Indrabala who seems to have been named after his grandfather Bharatabala Indra,[1] That this Udayana was probably ruling in Central India is also shown by the Kālañjar stone inscription, which records the construction of a temple of Vishnu by him[2]. It is much easier for a ruler of Bandhogarh to invade and occupy Kālañjar than it would be for a ruler of Chhattisgarh

Udayana's son Indrabala seems to have been ousted from Mekalā in *circa* A D 500 by the Uchchakalpa *Mahārāja* Hastin, who extended his rule to Dāhala or the country round modern Jabalpur, some time before A D 517[3] The recently discovered Sarangarh plates of the Śarabhapurīya king Mahā Sudevarāja mention one Indrabala as a *Mahāsāmanta* and *Sarvādhikārin*[4] This Indrabala is probably identical with the homonymous son of Udayana Indrabala II, after he lost Mekalā, seems to have moved to Kosalā where he began to rule as a feudatory of the contemporary Śarabhapurīya king Mahā Sudevarāja He seems to have soon aggrandised himself at the cost of his suzerain and overthrew Maha Pravararaja, the brother and successor of Mahā-Sudevaraja, soon after his accession[5]

The subsequent history of this family has already been stated in detail in my article entitled 'Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahakosala'[6]

1 In India a grandson is often named after his grandfather
2 Cunningham *A S I*, XXI p 40, *Ep Ind*, IV, p 257, n 4
3 *Ep Ind*, VIII pp 284 f
4 *Ind Hist Quart* XXI p 294
5 The only known record of Mahā Pravararāja is a copper plate grant issued by him in his second regnal year That Indrabala II ruled in Chhattisgarh is shown by the town Indrapura mentioned in the Kharod stone inscription of his son Īśānadeva
6 See No 26, below

of Pravarasena II to the beginning of the 8th century and Bālāghāt plates of Pṛithivishena and the Rajim plates of Tivaradeva to the second half of the same century [1]

Since then the Poona and Riddhapur plates of Prabhavati gupta have definitely proved that Mahārājādhirāja Devagupta was none other than Chandragupta II The Vakāṭakas were thus contemporaries of the Early Gupta kings and their records must, therefore, be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian Era As stated above, they are inscribed in box headed characters The plates of Tivaradeva, which are also incised in similar characters, can no longer be referred to the 8th century on palæographic grounds

Nor is the evidence of language and style in favour of the late date The charters of Tivaradeva are, indeed, composed in a style of high flourish, full of long compounds and puns [2] but so are those of many kings of Valabhi who flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries A D [3] We must therefore, look else where for a more reliable evidence for fixing the date of Tivaradeva

From several inscriptions found at Bhandak and Sirpur, we get the following genealogy of the Somavaṁśi Kings of Kosala (Chhattisgarh)[4] ,—

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1 *Ep. Ind*, IX p 270

2 निशितनिस्त्रिंशघनघातपातितारिद्विरदकुम्भमण्डलगलद्बहलशोणितसटासिक्तमुक्ताफलप्रकरमण्डितरणाङ्गणविविधिरत्नसम्भारलाभलोभविजृम्भमाणारिक्षारवारिवाडवानलश्चन्द्रोदय इवाकृतकरोद्वेग, क्षीरोद इवाविर्भूतानेकातिशायिरत्नसम्पत्, गरुत्मानिव भुजङ्गोद्धारचतुर: *etc* in *Gupta Inscr* No 81

3 Compare for instance प्रकृतिभ्य पर प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णं विदधान सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुण स्थानेऽनुरूपमादेश ददद् गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कार साधूना राज्यशालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णात *etc* in the description of Dhruvasena II of Valabhi—Bojad Plates G E 310 (=A D 629 630)

4 R B Hiralal *List of Inscriptions in C P and Berar* second Ed, p 103

- Udayana
  - Indrabala
    - Nannadeva
      - Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva
      - Chandragupta
        - Harshagupta m. Vāsaṭā (daughter of Sūryavarman, King of Magadha)
          - Mahāśīvagupta Bālārjuna
          - Raṇakesarin
    - Īśānadeva
  - Name not preserved
    - (1)
    - (2)
    - (3)
    - (4) Bhavadeva Raṇakesarin

From the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśīvagupta Bālārjuna, we learn that Bālārjuna's mother Vāsaṭā was the daughter of Sūryavarman 'who was born in the spotless family of the Varman Kings, great on account of their supremacy over Magadha.'[1] *There is no king of this name in the dynasties of* Magadha except the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman whose Harāhā stone inscription, incised in the reign of his father Īśānavarman, is dated (Mālava) Saṁvat 611 (A. D. 555). The name of this prince is not known from other records of the Maukharis. As Sūryavarman is called *King* in Sirpur stone inscription above referred to, he may have succeeded his father and ruled for a short time, though as he was a collateral his name is not mentioned in the records of his brother or his descendants. Chandragupta, the grandfather of Mahāśīvagupta Bālārjuna, was thus a contemporary of Sūryavarman and flourished probably from A. D. 565 to 575 and his elder brother Tīvaradeva from A. D. 550 to 565.

1. Cf. निष्पङ्के मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्म्मणां
पुण्याभिः कृतिभिः कृतो वृतमनःकम्पः सुधाभोजिनाम् ।
यामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्य्यवर्म्मा नृपः
आप प्राक् परमेश्वरश्वशुरतागर्व्वानिरवं पदम् ॥ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, 191, l. 11.

The date thus arrived at for Tivaradeva is corroborated by the evidence afforded by the records of Vishnukundin kings After examining all the available charters of these kings Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar has given the following genealogy[1] :—

Vikramahendra
|
Mahārāja Govindavarman
|
Mahārāja Mādhavavarman I
(Years 37 and 40 ?)

- Devavarman
  - Mādhavavarman II (Year 17 ?)
- Mañchannabhaṭṭaraka
- (*Rājan*) Vikramendra-varman I
  - (*Mahārāja*) Indravarman (Year 27)
    - *Mahārāja* Vikramendravarman II (Year 10)

Mahārāja Madhavavarman I was the most powerful king of the dynasty He is described in his as well as his successors' records as one who had performed a thousand (Agnishtoma) sacrifices and eleven Aśvamedhas (Horse Sacrifices) He is also described in his plates as त्रिवरनगरभवनगतपरमयुवतिजनविहरणरति.[2] or त्रिवरनगरभवनगतयुवतिहृदयनन्दन,[3] *i e*, one who delighted the hearts of (or sported in company of) the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Trivara This expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained Dr Hultzsch took it to mean that Madhavavarman I lived at Trivaranagara, but he could not identify the city It seems clear, however, that Trivaranagara means the city of Trivara, *i e*, Tivaradeva, king of Mahakosala *But then what does the above expression signify? It cannot* mean that Madhavavarman married a lady from the family of Tivaradeva for the expression refers to a number of ladies (युवतिजन) in the mansions of the city of Trivara whom he delighted Besides, Madhavavarman is not known to have

1 *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol IX p 27-

2 Pulomburu plates of Mādhavavarman *Journal of Andhra His Res. Society*, Vol VI, p 29

3 Ipur plates of Mādhavavarman, *Ep Ind* XVII p 234

married any lady from the family of Tivaradeva. On the other hand, he is said to have married a Vākāṭaka princess, whose son Vikramedravarman is described in his son's charter as one who adorned both the families of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and Vākāṭakas.[1] We must, therefore, take the expression as referring to Mādhavavarman's victory over Tivaradeva. Tivaradeva was a powerful king. He describes himself in his charters as प्राप्तसकलकोसलाधिपत्यः 'one who has attained suzerainty over the whole Kosala country.' A victory over such a great king must be a source of pride to Mādhavavarman. Hence we find it referred to again and again in his inscriptions, much in the same way as Pulakeśin II's victory over Harsha, the lord paramount of North India, is mentioned in the records of his descendants. The idea that a victorious king captivates the hearts of young ladies of the enemy's city—may even of the enemy's family—occurs sometimes in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature.[2] It would not, therefore, be wrong to suppose that Mādhavavarman I vanquished Tivaradeva. In any case, he was his contemporary.

When did this Mādhavavarman flourish? His Pulomburu plates[3] record that when he crossed the Godāvarī to conquer the eastern region, he donated the village Pulomburu in the Guḍḍavāḍivishaya to Śivaśarman, the son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman of the Gautama gotra and Taittirīya

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[1] विष्णुकुण्डिवाकाटकवंशद्वयालङ्कृतजन्मनः in the Chikkulla plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 193. Also cf. उभयवंशाभिजनालङ्कारभूतः in the Ramatirtham plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 123.

[2] धौतस्ते दन्तुलत्वान्मुरलजनवधूलोचनैः पच्यमाने
पादद्वन्द्वारविन्दे क्षणमभिरचयत्यञ्जलिं मूर्ध्नि मत्वा ।

Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, IV, 6. The king of Murala was an opponent of Yuvarājadeva I. See my article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, XI, p. 369. Cf. also

इय णिव्वलियणेउरमारण्णमणाण पडिवक्खकुमरीण । जाअन्ति जस्स पुरओ दसद्दसा वम्महवियारा ॥ v 1069, *Gauḍavaho*.

(=इति निर्वर्तितनूपुरारण्यमनसां प्रतिपक्षकुमारीणाम् । जायन्ते यस्य पुरतः दशादशा मन्मथविकाराः ॥)

[3] *Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, VI, p. 17.

Śākhā on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full moon day of Phālguna Again, the Pulomburu plates[1] of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I, which were discovered along with the above plates of Mādhavavarman, record the grant of the same village to Rudraśarman, the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Damaśarman, of the Gotama gotra and Taittiriya Śākha From the details given above it is quite clear that Śivaśarman, the donee of Madhavavarman's plates, was the father of Rudraśarman who received the village from Jayasimha I. It seems that Rudraśarman, who is called *pūrvāgrahārika* (former owner of the donated village) lost possession of the village in the troublous times due to the invasions of Pulakeśin II in the beginning of the seventh century A D He, therefore, seems to have made representations to Jayasimha I some time after peace and order had been established in the kingdom and received the Agrahāra village again from him

If we calculate the interval between the reigns of Madhava varman I and Jayasimha I, we find that a period of about sixty years must have elapsed between these two rulers Madhavavarman's Pulomburu plates are dated in the 40th year of his reign[2] They were, therefore, issued towards the close of his reign He seems to have ruled over an extensive empire, for he performed as many as eleven aśvamedhas Three of his sons are known from inscriptions 1 Devavarman, 2 Mañchanna-bhaṭṭaraka[3] and 3 Vikramendravarman As Madhavavarman had a long reign of more than forty years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him[4] In any case we do not know of any plates issued by them Madhavavarman II, the grandson of

1 *Ep Ind* XIX p 2 4

2 I have accepted the view of Mr D C Sikar *Ind Hist Quart*, p 275)

3 The name of this prince occurs towards the end of the Ipur plates (First Set), *Ep Ind* XVII p 334 None of his descendants are known.

4 It is noteworthy that no royal titles are prefixed to their names even in the records of their sons

Mādhavavarman I, who calls himself 'the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains,' seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Mādhavavarman I, while another grandson Indravarman seems to have succeeded him in the East. His plates are dated in the 27th regnal year. He is not likely to have reigned much longer, for his son Vikramendravarman is said to have come to the throne when he was a mere boy.[1] Vikramendravarman's plates were issued in his tenth regnal year. The reigns of Indravarman and his son thus cover a little more than 37 years. As no successor of Vikramendravarman is known, he seems to have been dethroned by Pulakeśin II, who placed his brother Kubjavishṇuvardhana in charge of the Eastern province. He reigned for about 18 years (A.D. 615–633). As the Pulomburu plates of Jayasiṁha I referred to above are dated in the fourth regnal year, we can calculate the interval between the two sets of Pulomburu plates as follows :—

Indravarman	...	... 27 years.
Vikramendravarman		... 10 years.
Vishṇuvardhana	...	... 18 years.
Jayasiṁha	...	... 5* years.
		60

As Mādhavavarman I, Indravarman and Vikrmendravarman may have continued to reign for some *years after their* respective plates were issued, this figure may have to be increased by about ten years, *i.e.*, a period of about seventy years *may have elapsed between these two gifts. It appears that* Śivaśarman was a young man, say, 25 to 30 years of age, when he accompanied Mādhavavarman in his expedition to the east *and received his charter on the bank of the Godāvarī while his* son Rudraśarman was an old man of fifty or sixty, when he regained the lost Agrahāra village from Jayasiṁha. Now Jayasiṁha

1 परममाहेश्वरस्य महाराजस्य श्रीइन्द्रभट्टारकवर्म्मणः प्रियज्येष्टपुत्रो गरिष्ठः शैशव एव सकलगुणालङ्कृतस्य सम्यगध्यारोपितसकलराज्यभारः परममाहेश्वरो महाराजः श्रीमान् विक्रमेन्द्रवर्म्मा एवमाज्ञापयति ।

* Agreeing with Mr. Somsekhara Sharma, I read the numerical symbol in Jayasiṁha's Pulomburu plates as 5.

issued his plates in *circa* A.D. 637. Deducting 70 years from this, we get c. A.D. 567 as the approximate date of Mādhavavarman's plates. We find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna in A. D. 565. This may, therefore, be accepted as the date of Mādhavavarman's plates As these plates were issued in his 40th regnal year, we may accept 525-568 as the probable duration of Mādhavavarman's reign.[1] We have fixed above A. D. 550 to 565 as the date for Tīvaradeva on the evidence of the Sirpur inscription, which we thus find corroborated by the date of Mādhavavarman, who, as described in his charters, was a contemporary of Tīvaradeva.

We must next proceed to consider the arguments advanced by some scholars to corroborate Kielhorn's date for Tivara. (1) Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal places the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa Temple inscription of Tīvaradeva's brother's grandson Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna in the eighth or ninth century A. D.[2] But the characters of the inscription are decidedly earlier. R. B. Hiralal himself has drawn attention to what he calls the antiquated forms of the letters इ, ण, स, घ, थ, भ and ज. The forms of म, र, ल, ट, द, and ह show that it must be placed earlier than the 8th century. They closely resemble the letters in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka (dated A.D 619-620). It would not therefore be wrong to refer it to the first half of the 7th century A. D.

(2) The Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha I (Śaka Samvat 793) mention that Govinda III first encountered and defeated Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta when he started for *digvijaya* in

1. Agreeing with Mr D C. Sarkar I have identified Mādhavavarman of Pulomburu plates with Mādhavavarman I mentioned in the Chikkulla and Ipur plates (First set) on the ground of similarity of description. Mr. J. Dubreuil, who distinguishes between them, places Mādhavavarman about A D 450. The tradition in the *Sthalamāhātmya* of Śrīparvata on which he relies is worthless for historical purposes (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 73). Prabhāvatīguptā was not known as Chandrāvatī and was moreover a devotee of Vishṇu and not of Śiva See her Riddhapur plates If Mādhavavarman I owed his throne to a Vākāṭaka prince, it must be to Harisheṇa (circa A D. 475 500), who conquered the Āndhra country. The Vākāṭaka princess whom he married was probably Harisheṇa's own daughter.

2 *Ep. Ind*, XI, p. 184.

in the North.[1] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who has edited these plates has identified Nāgabhaṭa with the well-known prince of that name in the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, and Chandragupta with the brother of Tīvaradeva, As the certain dates of Govinda III *range from* A. D. *794 to* 814, *he places* Tīvara *the elder* brother of Chandragupta in the eighth century A. D. Prof. R. D. Banerji also has supported this view.

The identification proposed above is, however, open to serious *objections*. Chandragupta *is not mentioned* in the Sanjān plates as king of Kosala. As he was defeated along with Nāgabhaṭa, he was probably a king of Central India. Besides, the same plates mention later on that Govinda III, after his victories in the North, returned to the Narmadā and following its bank, acquired among others the country of Kosala, which he made his servants enjoy.[2] If Chandragupta whom he had already defeated had been a *king of Kosala, it would have* been redundant to mention that country again in the description *of his later conquests.*

(3) Many records of Śailodbhava kings mention a king named Trīvara, with whom *Mādhava, a Śailodbhava* prince allied himself to oust his elder relative Dharmarāja alias Mānabhīta from the throne.[3] Both of them were defeated by Dharmarāja. Mādhava was, thereafter, obliged to spend his last days at the foot of the Vindhya mountain, probably in the kingdom of his ally Trīvara. R. D. Banerji, Chakravarti and others have identified this Trīvara with king

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1 स नागभटचन्द्रगुप्तनृपयोर्यशोर्यं रणेष्वहार्यमपहार्य धैर्यविकलानथोन्मूलयन् । यशोर्जनपरो नृपान् स्वभुवि शालिसस्यानिव पुनः पुनरतिष्ठिपत्स्वपद एव चान्यानपि ॥ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 233 f.

2 ततः प्रतिनिवृत्य तत्प्रकृतिभूरयकर्मेत्ययं प्रतापमिव नर्मदातटमनुप्रयातः पुनः । सकोसलकलिङ्गवेङ्गिडहलोड्रकान् मालवान् विलभ्य निजसेवकैः स्वयमवूभुजद्विक्रमः ॥

3 राज्यं लब्ध्वैव दर्पादविगणिततया माधवो ज्येष्ठभावान्
देशादस्मादपास्तुं इतविषममतिर्विग्रहे फासिकायाम् ।
युद्धं क्षोभेण भग्नो नृपतिवरमसौ संश्रितस्त्रीवराख्यं
पश्चात्तेनापि सार्धं पुनरपि विजितो विन्ध्यपादेषु जीर्णः ॥
Konddeda, Nirvina and Puri plates of Dharmarāja.

Tivaradeva of Chhattisgarh The dates of Śailodbhava kings are not yet settled Their records are generally dated in regnal years The only exception so far known for certain,[1] is the Ganjām plates of Mādhavarāja II, which were issued when the year 300 of the Gupta era (*i e*, 619–20) was current R. D. Banerji's proposed identification of Mādhavarāja II of the Ganjam plates (619–20 A D.) with Sainyabhita II *alias* Mādhavavarman of Buguda plates is plausable[2] Dharmaraja *alias* Mānabhita, the grandson of Madhavavarman, who issued the

1 Mr Rajaguru reads Samvat 512 as the date of the Puri copper plates of Dharmarāja and refers it to the Śaka Samvat (*J B O R S* June, 1930) This reading has been questioned by R D Banerji (*Hist of Orissa*, I, p 134) The first symbol appears to denote 300 In that case this date also would have to be referred to the Gupta era

2 See the following genealogies —

Ganjām plates
(619–620 A D)

माधवराज I
|
son
अयशोभीत
|
son
माधवराज II (A D 619–620)

Kondedda Nirvina and and Puri plates

पुलिंदसेन
|
(in his family)
रणभीत
|
son
सैन्यभीत I
|
(in his family)
अयशोभीत I
|
son
सैन्यभीत II *alias* माधववर्मन्
|
son
अयशोभीत II *alias* मध्यमराज
|
son
धर्मराज *alias* मानभीत
(defeated माधव and धीवर)

The difficulty presented by the palaeography of Buguda plates to which R D Banerji has referred (*History of Orissa* I, p 130) is not insurmountable While editing the Buguda plates Kielhorn had drawn attention to the fact that the plates on which the inscription is written originally bore another inscription, the letters of which probably were beaten in to make room for the new inscription If so the new inscription may have been engraved on the plates later on, when the original plates were lost or destroyed.

identified the Suvarṇa-nadī with the great river Śoṇa (called also Hiraṇyavāha). He further proposed to identify Doṇḍā with a village of the same name 25 miles west of Ārang and Vaṭapallikā with Barapālī about 30 miles east of Ārang.

The second dynasty is that of the so-called kings of Śarabhapura. It is now known that the dynasty was founded by a king name Śarabha.[1] He founded the city of Śarabhapura from where most of the charters of this dynasty have been issued. Nearly a dozen grants of this royal family have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts and the Sarangarh State from which we can make out the following genealogy :—

Śarabharāja
|
Narendra
|
Prasannamātra
|
Mahā-Jayarāja — Mānamātra *alias* Mahā-Durgarāja
|
Mahā-Sudevarāja — Mahā-Pravararāja

The exact relation of Prasannamātra to Narendra is not known, but he seems to have been his successor and may have been his son.[2] All the grants of this dynasty are dated in the regnal years and so afford no clue for the determination of their dates. But Śarabharāja who founded the dynasty was probably identical with the homonymous king[3] whose daughter's son

1. The Pipardulā plates recording the earliest grant of the dynasty were issued by the king Narendra who describes himself as the son of Śarabha. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139 f.

2. *Loc. cit.*, p. 143.

3. The identification was first suggested by me in my article on the Thakurdiya plates. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p 17. Previously, the grants of these kings were referred to the 8th century A. D. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 283. I have shown elsewhere that the identification of Mānamātra and Sudevarāja with the Rashtrakūṭa kings Mānāṅka and Devarāja on which this view was based is incorrect., *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV pp. 36 f. See also No. 19, above.

Goparāja was a friend of the Gupta Emperor Bhānugupta and was killed in the battle of Eran in A D 510-11 Śarabharāja may therefore have flourished in *circa* A D 460-480 This date is supported by the box headed characters in which all the grants of the dynasty are engraved and which resemble those of the Vākāṭaka grants. Many of these charters were found at Ārang or in the neighbouring places like Raipur or Śirpur The places donated by them can also be located in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts

All the charters of this dynasty except two, viz, the Sarangarh places of Mahā Sudevarāja and the Thakurdiyā plates of Mahā Pravararaja, were issued from Śarabhpura, which seems to have been their earlier capital[1] During the reign of Mahā-Sudevarāja Śripura appears to have become a second capital The Kharīar plates of this king granted in the second regnal year were issued from Śarabhapura, the recently discovered Sarangarh plates of the seventh year were granted at Śripura, while the later Raipur plates dated in the tenth year were again issued from Śarabhapura, which shows that the capital was not permanently shifted to Śripura Only one grant of his brother and successor Mahā Pravararāja has been discovered It is issued from Śripura, where the king may have shifted his capital

The third dynasty is that of the Pandavavamśi or Soma vamśi kings[2] Several stone inscriptions and copper plate grants of this dynasty also have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts from which we have the following genealogy –

1 Śarabhapura has not been definitely identified, but it may be identical with Sarabhgarh in the Gangpur State as suggested by Mr L P Pandeya The earliest copper plate inscription of the dynasty was found in the Sārangarh State which almost borders Gangpur on the South west

2 The earlier records such as the Bamhan plates and the Rājim plates name the family as *Pāṇḍuvaṁśa* or *Pandavavaṁśa* while the later ones such the Mallār plates call it *Somavaṁśa* *Bhārat Kaumudī*, Part I p 216, *Gupta Inscriptions* p 295 *Ep Ind*, vol xxiii p 120

Kondedda and Puri plates must, therefore, be referred to *circa* A. D. 650-675. The characters of his plates support this conclusion; for they closely resemble the Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena which is assigned to the last quarter of the seventh century. As seen above, Dharmarāja was a contemporary of Tīvaradeva of Chhattisgarh. So Tīvaradeva also must be placed in the latter half of the seventh century.

This undoubtedly conflicts with the date A. D. 535-555 proposed above for Tīvaradeva on the evidence of palaeography and historical references, for there is a difference of more than 125 years which cannot be satisfactorily accounted for. This later Tīvara may have been a remote descendant of the earlier Tīvara who was a contemporary of Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman. We know of several instances of such repetition of names in the dynasy of Somavaṁśī kings of Kosala and Orissa, to which Tīvaradeva belonged.

The date of Tīvaradeva has also a bearing on those of kings of Śarabhapura, but it would be better to discuss their relation in a separate article.[1]

3. See below, No. 26.

THREE ANCIENT DYNASTIES OF MAHĀKOSALA*

The ancient history of South Kosala (now called Mahā-kosala) comprising the Raipur, Drug, Bilaspur and Sambalpura Districts and some States of the Eastern States Agency like Raigarh, Sarangarh and Patna is still enveloped in obscurity The stone inscriptions and copper plates of three ancient dynasties have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts and the Sarangarh State, but scholars are not yet agreed about the chronological relation *inter se* of these dynasties As this question is interlinked with the history of some other dynasties of northern as well as southern India, it is proposed to discuss it in some detail here

The first of these dynasties is that known from the Arang plate[1] of Bhimasena II This plate was found in the possession of a Malguzar of Arang in the Raipur District of the Chhattis garh Division of the Central Provinces It gives the following genealogy —

Śara
|
Dayita (or Dayitavarman I)
|
Bibhiṣana
|
Bhimasena I
|
Dayitavarman (II)
|
Bhīmasena II

The plate was issued from the Suvarna nadi and records the grant of the village Vatapallika situated in the Dondavisaya The inscription contains a date at the end, introduced by the *Guptānāṁ saṁvatsara sate*, which Rai Bahadur Hiralal read as 200 80 2 Bhadra di 10 8, *i e*, the 18th day of the month Bhādrapada in the Gupta year 282 (A. D 601 2) Hiralal

* *Bulletin of the Deccan Co lege Research Institute*, Vol VIII pp 47 f

1, *Ep Ind* Vol IX pp 342 f

identified the Suvarṇa-nadī with the *great river Śoṇa (called also* Hiraṇyavāha). He further proposed to identify Doṇḍā with a village of the same name 25 miles west of Ārang and Vaṭapallikā with Barapālī about 30 miles east of Ārang.

The second dynasty is that of the so-called kings of Śarabhapura. It is now known that the dynasty was founded by a king name Śarabha.[1] He founded the city of Śarabhapura from where most of the charters of this dynasty have been issued. Nearly a dozen grants of this royal family have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts and the Sarangarh State from which we *can make out the following genealogy :—*

Śarabharāja
|
Narendra
|
Prasannamātra
|
- Mahā-Jayarāja
- Mānamātra *alias* Mahā-Durgarāja
  - Mahā-Sudevarāja
  - Mahā-Pravararāja

The exact relation of Prasannamātra to Narendra is not known, but he seems to have been his successor and may have been his son.[2] All the grants of this dynasty are dated in the regnal years and so afford no clue for the determination of their dates. But Śarabharāja who founded the dynasty was probably identical with the homonymous king[3] whose daughter's son

1. *The Pipardulā plates recording the earliest grant of the dynasty were* issued by the king Narendra who describes himself as the son of Śarabha. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139 f.

2. *Loc. cit.*, p 143.

3. The identification was first suggested by me in my article on the Thakurdiya plates. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p 17. Previously, the grants of these kings were referred to the 8th century A. D. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 283. I have shown elsewhere that the identification *of Mānamātra and Sudevarāja* with the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Mānāṅka and Devarāja on which this view was based is incorrect., *A. B.O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV pp. 36 f. See also No. 19, above.

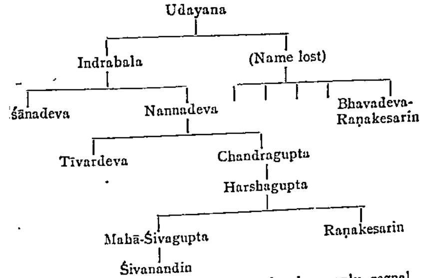
Goparāja was a friend of the Gupta Emperor Bhanugupta and was killed in the battle of Eran in A D 510–11 Śarabharāja may therefore have flourished in *circa* A D 460–480 This date is supported by the box headed characters in which all the grants of the dynasty are engraved and which resemble those of the Vakāṭaka grants Many of these charters were found at Ārang or in the neighbouring places like Raipur or Śirpur The places donated by them can also be located in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts

All the charters of this dynasty except two, viz, the Sārangarh places of Maha Sudevarāja and the Thakurdiyā plates of Mahā Pravararaja, were issued from Śarabhpura, which seems to have been their earlier capital [1] During the reign of Maha Sudevaraja Śripura appears to have become a second capital The Khariar plates of this king granted in the second regnal year were issued from Śarabhapura the recently discovered Sarangarh plates of the seventh year were granted at Śripura, while the later Raipur plates dated in the tenth year were again issued from Śarabhapura which shows that the capital was not permanently shifted to Śripura Only one grant of his brother and successor Maha Pravararāja has been discovered It is issued from Śripura where the king may have shifted his capital

The third dynasty is that of the Pandavavamśi or Soma vamśi kings [2] Several stone inscriptions and copper plate grants of this dynasty also have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts from which we have the following genealogy –

1 Śarabhapura has not been definitely identified but it may be identical with Śarabhgarh in the Gangpur State as suggested by Mr L P Pandeya The earliest copper plate inscription of the dynasty was found in the Sārangarh State which almost borders Gangpur on the South west

2 The earlier records such as the Bamhan plates and the Rājim plates name the family as *Pandu vamśa* or *Pandava vamśa* while the later ones such the Mallār plates call it *Soma vamśa* *Bharat Kaumud* Part I p 216 *Gupta Inscriptions* p 295 *Ep Ind* vol xxiii p 120



The copper-plates of these kings also bear only regnal dates, but on the evidence of palæography, language and style Dr. Kielhorn referred the grants of Tīvaradeva to about the middle of the eighth century A. D.[1] This view was first contested by the present writer in his article on the Ṭhakurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, where it was shown on the evidence furnished by the grants of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and Eastern Chālukyas that Tīvaradeva must have flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D.[2] Hiralal thought that the capital of these kings was at Bhāndak in the Chāndā District, but that this view was based on wrong information about the original findspot of a stone inscription[3] of this dynasty was shown in the article

1. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 258.

2. *Ibid*, Vol. XXII, pp. 19 f. I then tentatively placed Tivaradeva in the period A. D. 600–650. Further consideration of the available evidence has led me to the conclusion that he may have flourished slightly later in circa A. D. 600–575. *Ibid.* Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

3. This stone inscription is of Nannarāja edited by Kielhorn in *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, pp. 617 f. Kielhorn was informed that the inscription was originally found at Ratanpur. Cunningham conjectured that it must have originally come from Bhāndak in the Chāndā District. Hiralal followed this view and relegated it to Bhāndak. I examined this question in detail in the article on the Mallār plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 f.) and showed that the record must have come from some place in Chhattisgarh My conjecture has since then been confirmed by a statement of Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar which my friend Dr. Y. K. Deshpande noticed in a manus- (Contd.)

on the Mallār plates of Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna. In the same article it was shown that the capital of Kosalā (or South Kosala) described by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, who probably visited the country during the reign of Bālārjuna, was Śrīpura itself.

The foregoing account of these three dynasties must have shown that all of them were ruling over the Raipur-Bilaspur area in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. The next question is 'what was the chronological relation of these dynasties?

R. B. Hiralal thought that the kings of Śarabhapura ousted the Somavamśis whom they drove to the east and occupied their capital Śrīpura which they renamed Śarabhapura. That this view is incorrect and that the chronological position of the two dynasties is just the opposite was shown in my aforementioned article on the Thākurdiyā plates. It was pointed out therein that an expression which occurs invariably in the grants of all kings of Śarabhapura from Jayarāja onwards, viz अय ग्राम . यावद्रविशशिताराकिरणप्रतिहतघोरान्धकार जगद्वतिष्ठते तावदुप-भोग्य is borrowed *verbatim* in the Rājim and Balodā plates of Tīvaradeva.[1] This leaves no doubt that the Somavamśis succeeded the kings of Śarabhapura in Chhattisgarh. This view is now accepted by the scholars who have written about this dynasty.[2]

The relation of the dynasty of Bhimasena II with the Śarabhapuriyas and the Somavamśis is still controversial. In a note on the dates of Somavamśi kings which I published some years ago in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol XXVI, pp 227 f, I pointed out that R. B. Hiralal's reading of the date in the Arang plate of

(Continued from last page)

cript deposited in the India Office Library, London. Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar who was in the service of Mr Jenkins, the British Resident at Nagpur (1807-1826) visited Arang where he found the stone inscription of Nannarāja affixed to a large temple. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol XXVI p 227 n. As no records of the Somavamśis have been found in the Marathi-speaking parts of C. P. there is no evidence to show that Nannarāja was in possession of the territory as far as the Chāndā District in the West as Dr. Sircar supposes. (*Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol XXII p 63.)

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXII, p 17 n 5.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXV p 268; *Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol XIX p 143.

Bhīmasena II is incorrect. The first symbol denotes 100, not 200, as the *horizontal stroke* which is usually added to convert it into one for 200 is wanting in the present case. The date of the plate is thus the Gupta year 182 (A. D. 501). This date is supported by the palæography of the record as well as by the expression *saṁvatsara-śate* which introduces it. The family of Bhīmasena II seems to have ruled over the country round Ārang for several generations. Bhīmasena II or his successor was probably ousted by Jayarāja of the Śarabhapura dynasty, who coming from the east conquered the territory round Ārang and established himself there.

Dr. D. C. Sirkar has recently reopened this question in a note entitled 'Durgarāja of the Śarabhapurīya Dynasty' published *in the Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 62 f. He thinks that there is no doubt about the correctness of Hiralal's reading of the symbol in question (in the Ārang plate mentioned above) as 200. He thus takes the date of the Ārang plate to be G. 282 (A. D. 601). At the same time he places Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna in the first quarter of the seventh century A. D.[1] The family of Bhīmasena II was thus, according to Dr. Sircar, contemporaneous with those of the Śarabhapurīyas and the Somavaṁśis. In order to get over the difficulty of this family ruling over the same region as the latter two families, Dr. Sirkar supposes that 'it was probably ruling about the northern fringe of the country'. Let us examine this view at some length.

As stated before, my reading of the date of the Ārang plate was based not only on the introductory expression *saṁvatsara-śate* which Dr. Sircar considers unconvincing, but also on the form of the numerical symbol and above all on the palæographical evidence detailed in my article. This evidence has not yet been controverted. If Bhīmasena II was a contemporary of Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, it looks strange that his Ārang plate should show decidedly earlier forms of the following test letters than those noticed in the Śirpur stone inscription of Mahā-Śivgupta-Bālārjuna—

1. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 62.

(i) *K* in the Ārang plate shows a bent horizontal bar, but the latter has not yet formed a loop on the left,

(ii) *D* does not yet show a tail,

(iii) *Bh* and *s* have no wedge on the left,

(iv) The left limb of the palatal *ś* does not exhibit a loop and has not yet become separated from the vertical on the right,

(v) *H* has not yet become slanting and shows no tail

In all these respects the Śirpur stone inscription shows definitely later forms[1] This palæographic evidence should leave no doubt that *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II must have flourished at least a century earlier than Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna If the latter ruled in the first quarter of the seventh century A D, Bhimasena II must be referred to about A D 500 The date of the Ārang plates must therefore be read as G 182 (A D 501 2)

Let us next consider the question whether this *Mahārāja* Bhimasena II was ruling over the northern fringe of the country The copperplate of this king was found at Ārang and villages mentioned in the grant can also be identified in the vicinity of Ārang as shown by Hiralal The copper plate, therefore, in all probability, belonged to the vicinity of Ārang, but one cannot be absolutely certain about this as copper plates are known to travel far away from their original place and similar place names may perhaps be found in other parts of the country also The main reason why Bhimasena II is supposed to have ruled over the northern fringe of the country by which probably the country of Mekala is meant seems to be that the Ārang plate was issued from the Suvarn nadi which Hiralal identified with the well known river Śona rising from the Amarkantak Hills[2] This identification however, is not free from doubt The present name of the great river is derived from the Sanskrit *śona* or *śonā* (the red one), not from *suvarna* (gold) The *Amarakosa* no doubt

1 See the face mile of the Ārang plate, facing p 344 *Ep Ind* Vol IX and that of the Śirpur stone inscription facing p 100 *ibid* Vol XI

2 *Ibid* Vol IX p 344

gives *Hiraṇyavāha* (*v. l. Hiraṇyabāhu*) as a synonym of the Śoṇa,[1] but that name does not appear to have been in common use. The river is called Śoṇa or Śoṇā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Mudrārākshasha* and other Sanskrit works.[2] The other name Hiraṇyavāha is rarely noticed.[3] Besides, *Hiraṇyavāha* (the gold-carrier) is not the same as *Suvarṇanadī* (the golden river). Again, if the Ārang plate originally belonged to the Raipur District as seems likely, there is no reason why we should go as far north as Amrakaṇṭak in search of the Suvarṇa-nadī. Hiralal seems to have proposed the identification of this river with the great Śoṇ because 'latter's waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyā* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhmaṇa'.[4] The copper-plate does not, however, say that the grant was made on the bank of a holy river. It was apparently issued by the king from his camp which was then pitched on the bank of the Suvarṇa-nadī. Hiralal has pointed out that there is another river of the name Soṇ flowing through the Janjgir tahsil of the Bilaspur District, which joins the Mahānadī. It flows only about 70 miles north-east of Ārang. This river is more likely to be intended by the Suvarṇa-nadī mentioned in the Ārang plate.

One other reason why the Suvarṇa-nadī is not likely to be identical with the well-known Soṇ is that the Mekalā country where the latter takes its rise does not appear to have been under the rule of the family of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II in the fifth century A.D. The Ārang plate mentions as many as six generations which apparently were ruling over the country uninterruptedly. Their rule must have lasted for at least a hundred years. Śūra, the founder of the dynasty must therefore have flourished in A. D. 400 at the latest. *But the recently*

1. *Amarakoṣa*, v. 283. See also *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 156, and *Kalpadrumakoṣa*, XIII, 42.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Nirṇayasagar ed.), I, 31, 20; 35, 1 and 4; *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvan*, 85 9; *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII, 36; *Mudrārākshasa*, IV, 15.

3. It is mentioned in the *Harshacharita*. Arrian mentions the Erannoboas (Hiraṇyavāha) separately from the Sonos (Son). See McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 191.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 344.

discovered Bamhanī plates[1] show that the Mekalā country was then ruled by the Pāṇḍavavaṁśī (or Somavaṁśī) dynasty These plates were issued by *Mahārāja* Bharata *alias* Indrabala who was a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka Narendrasena (*circa* A D. 450–465) He was preceded by three ancestors, *viz*, Jayabala, Vatsarāja and Nāgabala, the earliest of whom may have been ruling in *circa* A D 375 There is thus no room for the family of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II ruling over Mekalā in the fifth century A D

In the present state of our knowledge it seems best to suppose that the ancestors of Bhīmasena II were ruling over Raipur Bilaspur area in the fifth century A D The stone inscription of the Somavaṁśī king Nannarāja states that Sūryaghosha who originally built the temple of Sugata (Buddha) at Ārang[2] flourished long before the time of Udayana I have suggested elsewhere[3] that this Sūryaghosha was probably identical with Śūra who founded the dynasty of Bhīmasena II, for Śūra and Sūrya are synonyms in Sanskrit, both meaning the Sun[4] This Śūra may have been a descendant of Mahendra of Kosala who was defeated but later reinstated on his throne by Samudragupta[5] He and his descendants seem to have owed allegiance to the Guptas, whose era they used in dating their records Their capital was probably Śrīpura,[6] modern Śirpur, about 20 miles north-east of Ārang

1 These have not yet been published but Dr B Chhabra has summarised and discussed their contents in the *Bhāratakaumudī* Part I pp 215f

2 Cf L 7—गच्छति भूयसि काले भूमिपतिः क्षपितसकलरिपुपक्षे ।
पाण्डववंशाद् गुणवानुदयनन्नामा समुत्पन्ने ॥

3 *Ep Ind* Vol XXVI p 219 n 1

4 Cf सद्योतो वरुणः शूरो विश्वप्सा पद्मबान्धवः ।
काश्यपि काश्यपपथ्य काश्यपथ्य गभस्तिमान् ॥ *Kalpadrumakośa* III 4

5 *Gupta inscriptions* p 7

6 I thought previously that Śrīpura was founded by a king of Sarabhapurīya dynasty because Śrī or Lakshmī appears on all their seals But the recently discovered plates of Mahā Sudevarāja show that the town was probably in existence before and was used only as a second capital by Mahā Sudevarāja

Soon after A.D. 501, the date of the Ārang plate, Bhīmsena II or his successor was ousted from Chhattisgarh by the Śarabhapurīya king Jayarāja whose copper-plate grant dated in the fifth regnal year has been found at Ārang itself.[1] He and his descendants ruled over the country till about A. D. 530.

In the meantime the Pāṇḍavavaṁśī kings who were ruling over the Mekalā country seem to have been supplanted by the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* who began to extend their kingdom south and west. Before A. D. 517, the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin had spread his power to the Ḍāhala country which bordered Mekalā on the west.[2] He seems to have overrun Mekalā also and dispossessed Udayan's son Indrabala of his kingdom. The genealogy of Pāṇḍavavaṁśī kings after Bharata *alias* Indrabala is unknown, but since grandsons are usually named after their grandfather,[3] Indrabala (II), the son of Udayana, may have been a grandson of Bharata *alias* Indrabala I. Udayana himself may have been ruling over the Mekalā country; for he raided the country as for north-west a Kālañjara, where he built a temple of Vishṇu,[4] but there is no doubt that his son Indrabala II was ousted from Mekalā. The recently discovered Sārangarh plates show that Indrabala then moved to South Kosala where he ruled as a *Mahāsāmanta* and *Sarvādhikārādhikṛita*.[5] Occupying a position of power and vantage as he did, he must have found it easy to overthrow Mahā-Sudevarāja's brother Mahā-Pravararāja not long after his accession.

Indrabala II seems to have ruled as an independent king in Chhattisgarh for some time. A mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakhṇeśvara at Kharod, about two miles north of Seorinārāyaṇ, describes him as one whose lotus-like feet looked

1. *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 191 f.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 f.
3. In the Ārang plate also, Bhimasena II bore the name of his grandfather Bhīmasena I.
4. Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 257, n. 4.
5. *Ind. Hist Quart.*, Vol XXI, p. 294.

resplendent with the rows of the crest-jewels of all kings.[1] The description is no doubt conventional, but it may not be altogether an empty praise. Indrapura, which is mentioned in the same inscription as the head-quarters of a *vishaya*, may have been founded by him. His son Īśānadeva built the temple of Lakshmanadeva (now Lakhneśvara) at Kharod and endowed it with the gift of some village.[2] Īśānadeva's brother Nannarājādhirāja was ruling when the temple of Sugata (Buddha) originally erected by Sūryaghosa at Arang was repaired.[3] Nannadeva's son Tivaradeva is known from two copper-plate grants—one discovered at Rājim in the Raipur District and the other at Balodā in the Phulzar Zamindari, both places being included in Chhattisgarh.

These Somavaṁśī rulers seem to have given substantial help to the Maukhari Emperors Īśvaravarman and Īśānavarman during their campaigns against the contemporary Āndhra kings.[4] In fact the route of these kings, like that of Samudragupta for the invasion of southern kingdoms, lay through South Kosala.[5] Thh Āndhra king Mādhavavarman I of the Vishnukundin family retaliated by invading and occupying the capital of Trivara (*i e*, the Somavaṁśī Tīvaradeva) as recorded in his Pulomburu and Ipur plates.[6]

The political aliance thus formed between the Maukharis and the Somavaṁśis was later cemented by the marriage of Tīvaradeva's nephew Harshagupta with Vāsatā, the daughter of the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman.[7] Their són Mahā Śiva-

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1 This inscription is unedited, but I give the transcript of its line 22 from an impression in my possession—

सर्व्वावनीश्वरशिरोमणिराजिराजत्पादाम्बुज शशिकुलाम्बरपूर्णचन्द्र ।
आसीद् भुव पति पास्तरिपुरिन्द्रबलाभिधान ॥

2 Hiralal, *Inscription in C P and Berar*, (Second ed), p 125

3 *J R A S* (1905), pp 617 f

4 *Gupta Inscr* , pp 291 f , *Ep Ind* Vol VII, pp 102 f

5. It is not unlikely that there was only one compaign of the Maukharis in South India viz that of Īśānavarman as recorded in the Haraha inscription, *Ep Ind* , Vol XIV pp 115 f

6 See *Ep Ind* , Vol XXII p 19 f

7 *Ibid* , Vol XI p 191

gupta-Bālārjuna has left us several stone inscripttons and copper-plate grants which were discovered in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts. One of these found in the debris of the temple of Lakshmaṇa at Śirpur records the erection of that temple by Vāsaṭā, the mother of Bālārjuna.

Mahā-Śivagupta came to the throne when quite young and was known as Bālārjuna on account of his great skill in archery. He had a long reign of more than 57 years.[1] He may be referred to the period A.D. 590-650. He was probably the king of Kosala who submitted to Pulakeśin II as stated in the latter's Aihoḷe inscription. He and his capital (which was probably Śrīpura) have been described by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang.[2]

Mahā-Sivagupta-Bālārjuna had a brother named Raṇakesarin and a son called Śivanandin,[3] but whether either of them actually succeeded him is not known. It is also not known how long the rule of the Somavaṃśīs lasted in Chhattisgarh, for the later records of the dynasty come from distant Sambalpur and Cuttock Districts of Orissa and the Patna and Sonpur States in the Easten States Agency.

The Somavaṁśīs appear to have been ousted from Chhattisgarh by the Nalas of Pushkarī. These kings were ruling over of the Bastar State and the adjoining portion of the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency. The coins of three kings of this dynasty viz. Varāha, Bhavadatta and Arthapati have been discovered at Eḍengā in the Koṇḍegaon *tahsil* of the Bastar State.[4] A stone inscription mentioning Skandavarman, the son of Bhavadatta, as ruling at Pushkarī has also been found at Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore Agency.[5] The Nalas were contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas, with whom they often came into conflict.[6]

1. See *Summaries of Papers* submitted to the twelfth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference (History and Archæology), p. 33.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 118 f.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 1?3; *P.R.A.S.W.I.* for 1903 04, p. 49.

4. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 29 f.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 f.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 210 f.

They suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Early Chālukya king Kīrtivarman I,[1] but were not exterminated Like the rulers of Kosala and Kalinga, they must have submitted to Pulakeśin II, but they appear to have found a favourable opportunity for the expansion of their power at the close of Bālārjuna's reign They invaded the kingdom of their northern neighbours, the Somavamśis, whom they drove to the east They then established themselves at Śrīpura, the old capital of South Kosala

A stone inscription discovered as early as 1825 in the temple of Rājīvalochana at Rājim has recently been edited by me.[2] It mentions three kings of the Nala dynasty—Pṛithvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatunga all of whom seem to have reigned at Śrīpura Vilāsatunga, the last of these kings, built a temple of Vishnu now known as Rājīvalochana at Rājim As Cousens has shown, this temple is, in plan, a copy of the Lakshmana temple at Śirpur,[3] which had been erected by the dowager Somavamśi queen Vāsaṭā during the reign of her son Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna The inscription recording the erection of the temple at Rājim is incised in characters of the eighth century A, D , which shows that the Nalas succeeded the Somavamśis in Mahākosala

The three ancient dynasties of Mahakosala thus reigned successively at Śrīpura—the dynasty of Bhīmasena II from *circa* A D, 380 to A D 505 , the kings of Śarabhapura from *circa* A D 505 to A D 530 and the Somavamsis from *circa* A D 530 to A D 650 The last dynasty was ousted by the Nalas of the Bastar State, who may have ruled in the Raipur District till they were supplanted by the Kalachuris some time in the ninth century A D[4]

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1 *Ibid* Vol VI pp 1 f

2 *Ibid*, Vol XXVI pp 49 f

3 *P R A S W I* for 1903 04 p 21 For the plan of the two temples see Cunningam's *A S I R* Vol XVII Pl V and XVII with corrections pointed out by Cousens

4 Mugdhatunga Prasiddhavala the son of Kokalla I of Tripuri who first conquered Pāli from the lord of Kosala and placed it in charge of one of his brothers flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A D

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the attached list of journals. The figures in the brackets indicate the year of publication. The first number following the name of a periodical denotes the volume, and the second the intial page.

A. B. N. U. H. S.—Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society.

A. B. O. R. I.—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

E. I.—Epigraphia Indica.

H. A. S.—Hyderabad Archæological Series.

I. A.—Indian Antiquary.

I. H. Q.—Indian Historical Quarterly.

J. A. S. B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

J. B. R. S.—Journal of the Bihar Research Society.

J. G. J. R. I.—Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.

J. K. H. R. S.—Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Research Society.

J. M. S. G. U.—Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad University.

J. N. S. I.—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

J. O. H. R. S.—Journal of the Orissa Historical Research Society.

N. I. A.—New Indian Antiquary.

N. U. J.—Nagpur University Journal.

P. I. H. C.—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.

P. T. A. I. O. C.—Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.

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APPENDIX

A LIST OF RESEARCH WORKS AND ARTICLES OF DR V V MIRASHI

Works

1 Inscriptions of the Kalachuri Chedi Era (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol IV)

2 Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas (*C I I*, Vol VI) (in the Press)

Articles§

1 The Traditional Author of the Vedānta Sūtras—Bādarāyana or Krishna Dvaipāyana? (1923), *P T A I O C*, 463 f

2 Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī, (1930), *A B O R I*, XI, 361 f

3 Two Inscriptions from Berar, (1931), *E I*, XXI, 127 f

4 Notes on the Bilhari Stone Inscription of the Rulers of Chedi, (1932), *Mahākoshal Historical Society's Papers*, Part I, 11 f

5 Did Tailapa II defeat a Chedi King? (1933), *I H Q*, IX, 132 f

6 Historical Data in Rājaśekhara's Viddhaśālabhañjikā, (1933), *I A*, LXII, 35 f

7 Historical Data in Padmagupta's Navasāhasankacharita, (1933), *I A*, LXXII, 101 f

§8 Further Light on Rāmagupta, (1933), *I A*, LXII, 201 f

9 Thakurdiya Plates of Mahā Pravararāja, (1933), *E.I*, XXII 15

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